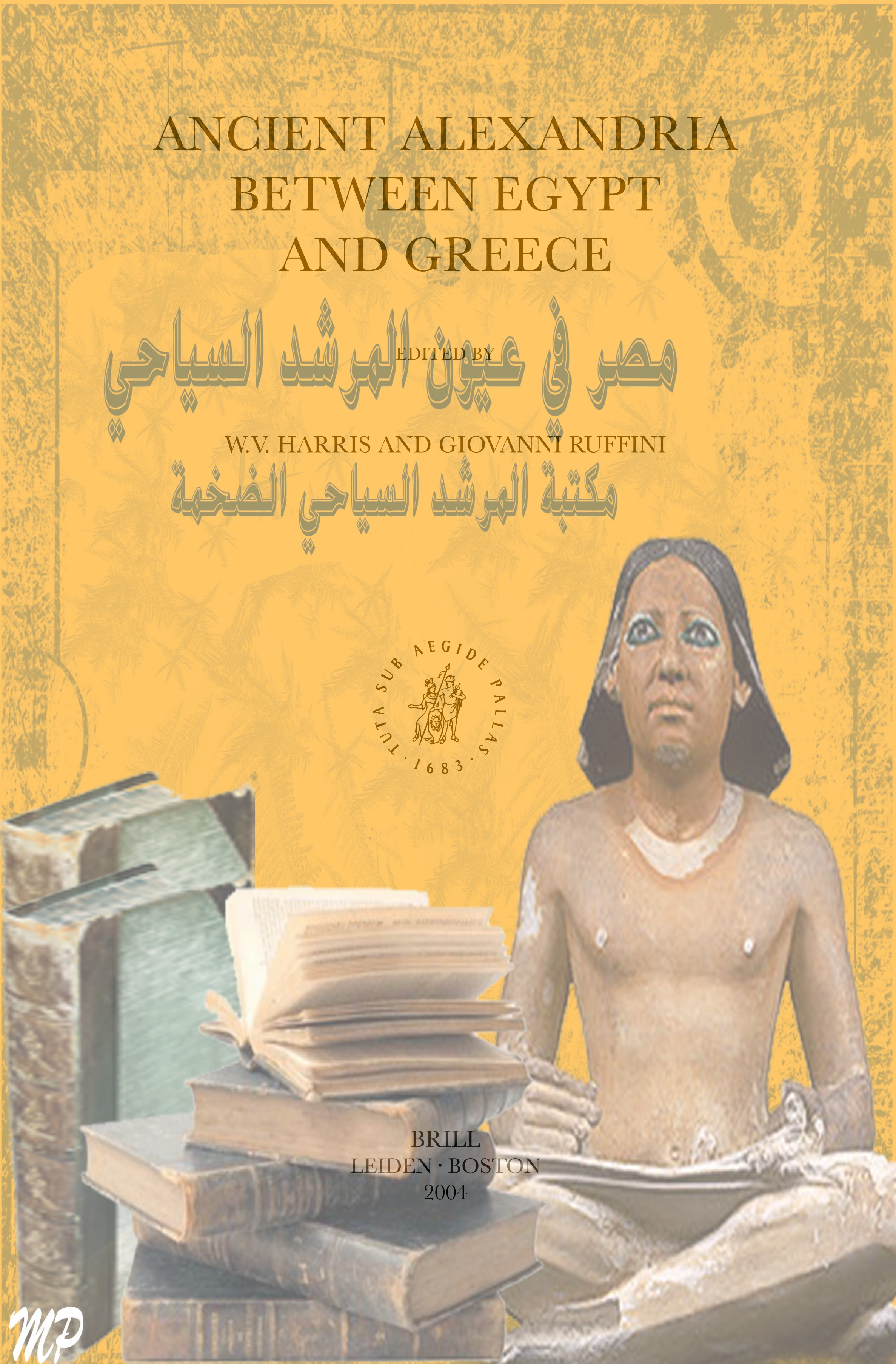

مصر في عيون المرشد السياحي
مكتبة المرشد السياحي الضخمة
MP

COLUMBIA STUDIES IN THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

VOLUME XXVI




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BETWEEN EGYPT
AND GREECE
مصر في عيون المرشد السياحي
EDITED BY
W.V. HARRIS AND GIOVANNI RUFFINI
مكتبة المرشد السياحي الضخمة
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On the cover: limestone stela of Psherenptah from Saqqara (41 BCE), left part of scene at top. British Museum EA 886. Photo courtesy British Museum.

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PREFACE

We publish here a collection of papers, cutting across a number of scholarly disciplines, concerning what may be considered the most elusive of the great cities of Mediterranean antiquity. In their original forms, the papers were almost all written for a conference entitled *Alexandria between Egypt and Greece* which was organized by the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia on October 11th and 12th, 2002.

Scholars and students came to the conference for a variety of reasons. There is always something fresh to learn about ancient Alexandria, and recent excavations have provided ample new material for discussion. The city was always cosmopolitan, or more precisely heterogeneous—though that can of course be said about many cities and towns in the ancient world—which gives it a special interest in a world in which heterogeneous cities constantly multiply. It is probably also true that Alexandria is too little attended to by those who study the ancient world in the United States, and that added to our wish to have it more talked about in an open academic forum.

But what most impelled the senior of the two editors of this volume forward while he was putting the conference together was the hope that by bringing some leading Alexandrian scholars together, the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean could move us a step further towards the construction of a mature multi-faceted urban history of the second-largest city of classical antiquity. Having seen at close quarters the difficulties of writing a good history of the city of Rome (see *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995), 365–75: 368), he was not in an optimistic frame of mind in this respect. This volume certainly does not claim to be that mature urban history. That would require a much more disciplined and a longer-term project, whether it was the work of one person or several.

We are convinced, however, that such a history will have to bring together all the themes broached by the contributors to this volume (as well as many others). It is obvious that it will have to include some up-to-date demography (see Scheidel). A central theme will be the relations between the Greek and the Egyptian cultural worlds as they evolved at Alexandria (see Baines, Bonacasa), and also the rela-

tions between Greeks and Jews (see Birnbaum). Alexandrian civil institutions still present many problems (two are addressed in this volume, by Burkhalter and Capponi). It is a great challenge also to delineate Alexandrian social relations, inside and outside the city: various possible models can be tried out, and we include here two attempts, by Abd-el-Ghani and Ruffini, to make sense out of the rather extensive available evidence.

Some of the papers already mentioned bear on the religious history of the city. Religion is more specifically the subject of the contributions of Haggag (extra-Alexandrian material, but highly relevant context for Alexandria itself) and Haas. With Haas's paper we are once more at the heart of the questions of cultural identity and interaction—and we are also able to witness the spread of Christianity in an intimate fashion, as is possible in very few other ancient places.

Alexandria as a court and a city touched, and in many cases was the basis for, the intellectual and literary lives of some of antiquity's most interesting figures. Two of them only could be dealt with in this volume, the poet Posidippus (because of a recently published papyrus), and Galen (see Stephens and von Staden, respectively).

Finally, the *doyen* of Alexandrian studies, indeed of Alexandria itself, Mostafa el-Abbadi, analyses the evolution of literary and mythical traditions unifying Egypt and Greece via the case of the island of Pharos. It is through Pharos that Homer's own characters turned their eyes to Egypt; thus began a process of literary re-interpretation in which later generations suggested that Helen of Troy spent the duration of the war at the court of the Egyptian king. Pharos reappears in the Greek mythic landscape in a version of the foundation of Alexandria itself. But here, in the Greek version of the Alexander Romance, Alexander's consultation of the oracle at Siwa shows similarity to stories surrounding Hatshepsut and other Pharaonic figures. Thus el-Abbadi is able to show, through the evidence about Pharos, how Greek literature could shape itself in response to Egyptian tradition.

We wish to thank a variety of our collaborators and helpers. In the first place, special thanks are due to Susan Stephens for coming into the project at a relatively late stage, after the Columbia conference. Her cooperative spirit and promptness were a pleasure to encounter. The very great patience of our three Egyptian contributors deserves special notice: they were the first to finish and set an example of efficiency which few American or European scholars

live up to. Fabienne Burkhalter earned our most sincere gratitude for certain diplomatic activities she undertook while the editors were waiting to receive the revised versions of the conference papers.

The conference itself was largely the work of Elizabeth Mazucci, the coordinator for the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean and another model of effectiveness. Our thanks also go to all the Columbia University graduate students who helped in inconspicuous but essential ways during those two days in 2002.

Finally the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean would like to thank Edward E. Cohen and the Arete Foundation for their continued generosity. We are fortunate indeed to have such friends.

W.V. Harris
Giovanni Ruffini
Columbia University, March 2004

ABBREVIATIONS

Papyrological citations have been made in keeping with the conventions established in J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, S.J. Clackson, A.A. O'Brien, J.D. Sosin, T.G. Wilfong, and K.A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, which may be consulted online at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

Other abbreviations used in this work are listed here.

AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BSAA *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CdÉ *Chronique d'Égypte*
CMG *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*
EAA *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
RE Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RÉg *Revue d'Égyptologie*
RM *Römische Mitteilungen*
ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

Mostafa el-Abbadi is Professor emeritus of Classical Studies, Alexandria University, and President of the Archaeological Society of Alexandria. He is a consultant to the Librarian of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. His next major publication (as editor and co-author) will be *Alexandria: the World in a City*.

Mohammed Abd-el-Ghani is Professor of Graeco-Roman History and Civilization at the University of Alexandria and head of the Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies.

John Baines is Professor of Egyptology at Oxford University. He has held visiting appointments in several countries. His research focuses on Egyptian art, religion, and literature.

Ellen Birnbaum has taught and done postdoctoral work at Brandeis and Harvard Universities. She is the author of *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes* (1996).

Nicola Bonacasa is Professor of Greek and Roman Archaeology at the University of Palermo and *Preside* of the Faculty of Cultural Heritage. He has written extensively on the art and architecture of Graeco-Roman Egypt; his new book *Gli edifici termali di Sabratha* will appear in 2005.

Fabienne Burkhalter currently edits the "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes en Grèce" for the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. She is writing a book entitled *Comptes et monnaie en Égypte d'après les papyrus (323 av.J.-C.–68 ap.J.-C.)*.

Livia Capponi is in the process of publishing her Oxford doctoral dissertation *Augustan Egypt: the Creation of a Roman Province*. She is currently a researcher at the Scuola Superiore di Studi Storici, San Marino.

Christopher Haas, author of *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (1997), is an Associate Professor of History at Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania.

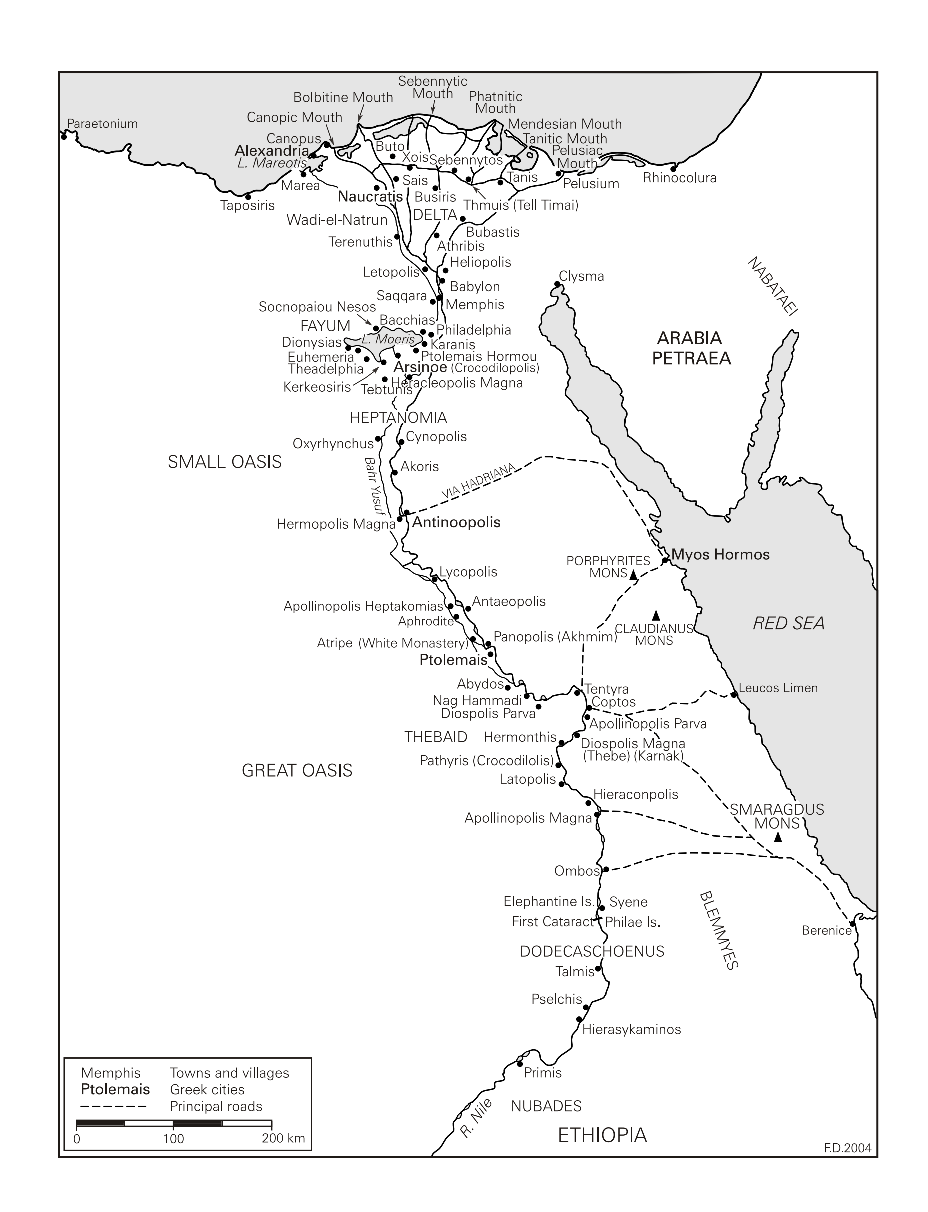
Mona Haggag is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Alexandria, is a Senior Specialist at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, and has published many archaeological books in Arabic, most recently *Roman Antiquities in the Arabic Countries of Asia* (2002).

Giovanni Ruffini, a graduate student in ancient history at Columbia University, is writing his doctoral dissertation on the social networks of late-antique Oxyrhynchos and Aphrodito.

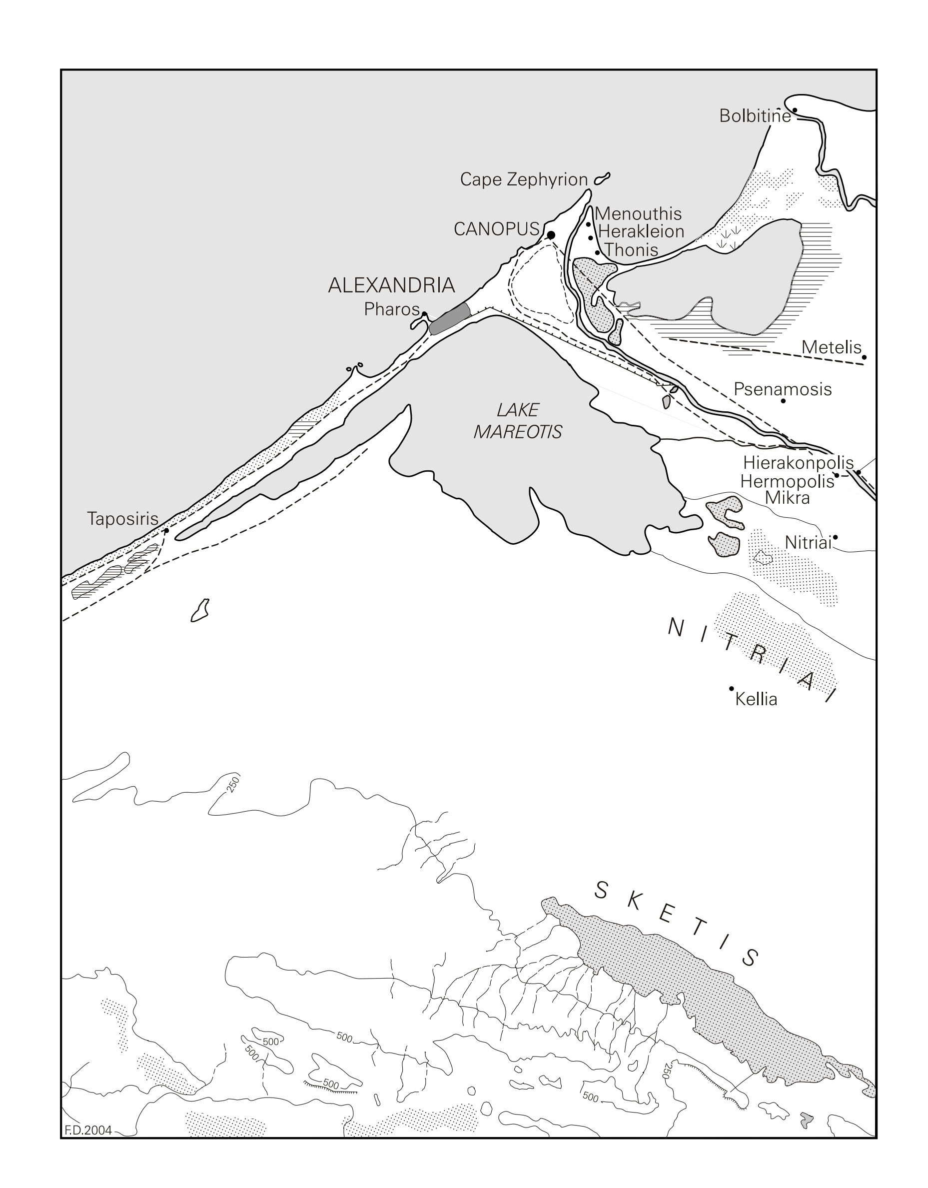
Walter Scheidel is a Professor of Classics at Stanford University. His most recent book is *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2001)

Susan Stephens is likewise a Professor of Classics at Stanford. Her interests include papyrology and Hellenistic poetry. Her most recent book, *Seeing Double. Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*, appeared in 2003.

Heinrich von Staden is Professor of Classics and History of Science in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study and author of numerous studies of Greek medicine, including *Herophilus: the Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (1989).



Map 1. Map of Egypt, 332 BC–AD 642 (after Bowman)



Map 2. Environs of Alexandria
(after a map by A. Bernand in Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World)

CHAPTER ONE

CREATING A METROPOLIS: A COMPARATIVE DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

Walter Scheidel

The problem

Founded in 331 BCE,[1] Alexandria evolved into one of the largest cities of the ancient world. The emergence of mega-cities is one of the most remarkable events in the demographic and economic history of the pre-modern Mediterranean. Prior to the third century BCE, no city in the coastal regions of the Mediterranean is reliably known or even likely to have comprised at least 100,000 residents: Syracuse, Athens and Carthage have all been mooted but none of them is a convincing candidate.[2] Conditions were different in the main river cultures of the Near East, where Babylon and perhaps also Nineveh and Memphis may have been the first cities to reach that size.[3] Since the growth of capital cities is to a large degree a function of the expansion of their hinterlands and hence of imperial success, this early contrast is readily explicable in terms of the different scale of state power in the river plains and the Mediterranean: while the kingdoms of Egypt and Mesopotamia drew on the resources of millions, the imperial city-states of the Greco-Punic world controlled mere hundreds of thousands. All this changed with the advent of the Hellenistic successor states to the Persian empire and the rise of Roman power in the west.

However, while there can be no doubt that the resultant metropoles were very large by ancient or generally pre-modern standards, the nature of the underlying growth processes remains obscure. This is a particularly vexing problem in the case of capital cities that were

[1] For the foundation date, see Bagnall 1979.
[2] Morris forthcoming; Scheidel forthcoming.
[3] Van De Mieroop 1997, 95–7.

founded virtually from scratch, above all Alexandria and Antioch. A whole range of questions would need to be answered to shed light on this issue: where did all the immigrants, and their supplies, come from; how was the food supply organised, and how did it affect the hinterland; what were the main determinants of and ultimate constraints on metropolitan growth? These and related problems have been studied in some depth with regard to later capital cities, such as London or Madrid.[4] More recently, Morley drew on comparative evidence for his study of the relationship between imperial Rome and its Italian hinterland.[5] By contrast, the demographic development and economic impact of Hellenistic metropoles have never been systematically explored. In a comparatively modest and highly tentative attempt to reduce this deficit, I will focus on a crucial question: how did the city of Alexandria develop over time? As will be seen, ancient sources are of little help in addressing this issue. For this reason, I will draw on theory and comparisons derived from more recent and consequently better documented instances of premodern metropolitan expansion: although a poor substitute for primary statistics, this information can help us overcome an otherwise ineluctable impasse.

The true extent of our ignorance about the most fundamental demographic features of Alexandria is well brought out by Fraser's massive tomes on the history of the city under the Ptolemies. 1,100 pages of text and notes cannot change the fact that 'the development of Alexandria as a city largely escapes us'.[6] Among other things, we do not know how many people were initially settled at the site; how their numbers changed over time; where successive generations of immigrants came from; and what the maximum size of the population was, or when it was reached. Nor do we know whether it was the food supply, demographic conditions or other variables that mediated the city's growth, or how its development affected the urban system of Egypt as a whole. Finley had a field day in deconstructing Fraser's laborious attempt to write a genuine history of Ptolemaic Alexandria in the absence of this and similarly important information. In a single page of quotes from Fraser's text, Finley has no

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[4] E.g., Wrigley 1987, 133–56; Ringrose 1983.
[5] Morley 1996.
[6] Fraser 1972, I 36.

trouble highlighting the 'solid foundation of ignorance' upon which this work sought to build. He bemoans the complete lack of reference to urban history beyond classical antiquity and more specifically Fraser's avoidance of analytical constructs in favour of the all-too-familiar 'tell-all-you-know technique' required to fill hundreds of pages, and re-affirms the utility of models in the formulation of hypotheses, without which 'there can be no explanation; there can only be reportage and crude taxonomy, antiquarianism in its narrowest sense'.[7] My paper can be no more than a first step towards the practical implementation of Finley's suggestions.

Models and comparisons

Pre-modern metropolitan growth

Its peripheral geographical location notwithstanding, Alexandria was a new capital city superimposed on a mature urban system. Its creation was part of a larger trend in the Hellenistic Near East, paralleled by the founding of Antioch (and three other major cities) in northern Syria, of Seleucia on the Tigris, and of Pergamon in northwestern Asia Minor. Even so, we cannot tell how any of these cities developed over time: rapidly at first and very slowly afterwards; gradually but steadily; or in fits and starts? It is here that comparisons with later pre-modern capitals enable us to weigh competing probabilities.

For Europe, reasonably reliable information on urban and national population numbers becomes available from about 1500 onwards. In the sixteenth century, while much of Europe experienced strong demographic growth, the principal capital cities grew more rapidly than the general population. This divergence is best explained as the consequence of concurrent domestic and external expansion and political consolidation—a combination of growing state power, improving economic performance, and colonial extension. London, Amsterdam, Paris and Madrid are the main examples. Italian centres had flourished earlier, and will be omitted here to ensure comparability. The nature of the development of these places—and others

[7] Finley 1986, 62–6.

like them in other periods and regions (cf. below, on Edo)—supports a general working hypothesis: capital cities will tend to grow more rapidly than national populations as state power increases (through internal consolidation and intensification or external expansion, or more commonly both). This trend will not continue indefinitely but will (usually) be checked by an abatement of the underlying inducements (i.e., overall state success) or (uniquely in the case of eighteenth-century England) by accelerating development in the hinterland. As a result, metropolitan population size will plateau or shrink, commonly in relative but sometimes even in absolute terms. Therefore, the growth curve of capital cities will be S-shaped as it goes through three stages: an initial period of slow growth prior to or at the beginning of state expansion followed by a rapid growth spurt, and subsequent stagnation.

Gross growth

This general model can be illustrated by means of the evolution of four European metropoles between 1500 and 1800 (Figures 1–2).

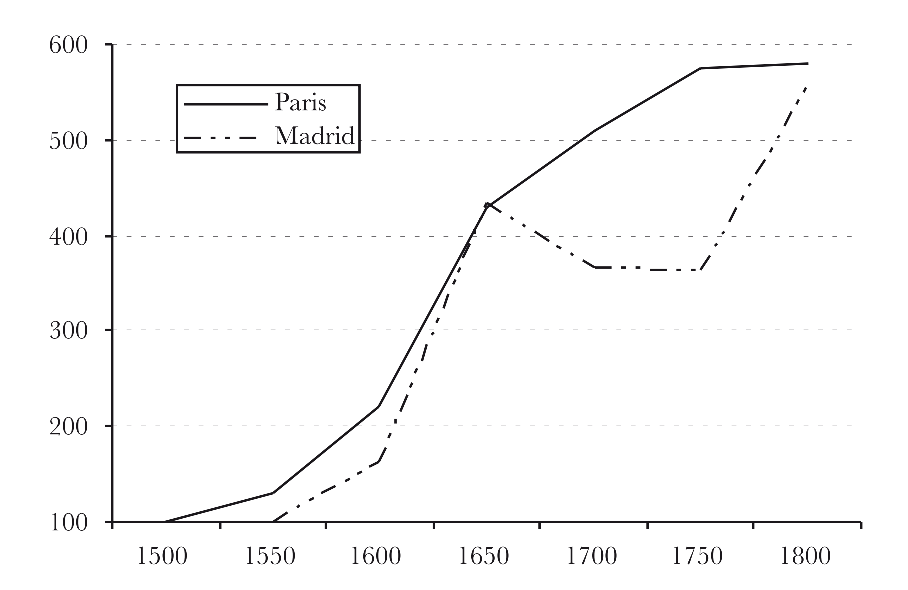


Figure 1. Early modern metropolitan growth curves (1).
(Standardised population size; 1500 = 100).
Source: de Vries (1984) 275, 277.

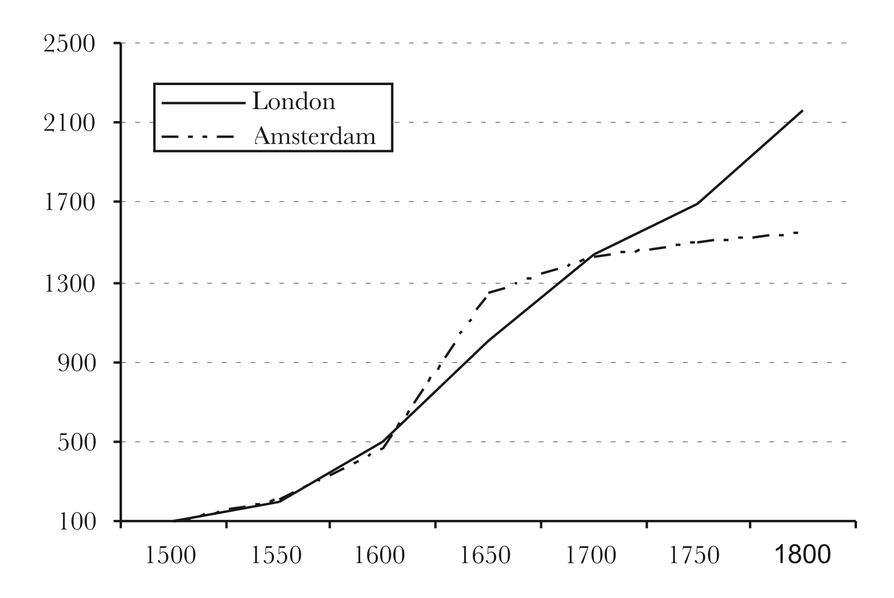


Figure 2. Early modern metropolitan growth curves (2).
(Standardised population size; 1500 = 100).
Source: de Vries (1984) 270–1.

The case of London is particularly instructive: unlike competing systems, the economic and imperial expansion of England never significantly decelerated during the period under review. Thus, London kept growing while other capitals eventually came to stagnate: Amsterdam after the Dutch 'Golden Age', Madrid with the decline of the Spanish colonial empire, and Paris under the 'high-pressure' regime of the eighteenth century.

This model is also relevant for the study of ancient metropolitanism. In principle, we would expect the development of the city of Rome to have been shaped by comparable forces. While it is true that the size of its population is completely unknown for any time prior to the first century BCE (and not very well even thereafter), it deserves notice that separate guesstimates for various dates (which were advanced in isolation rather than to fit a preconceived growth pattern) converge very neatly into the predicted S-curve (Figure 3).

What matters most is that regardless of the quality of any of the proposed figures, Rome must necessarily have grown in this fashion: slowly at first, then more rapidly after the 270s BCE and especially during the last two centuries BCE, and more slowly as imperial

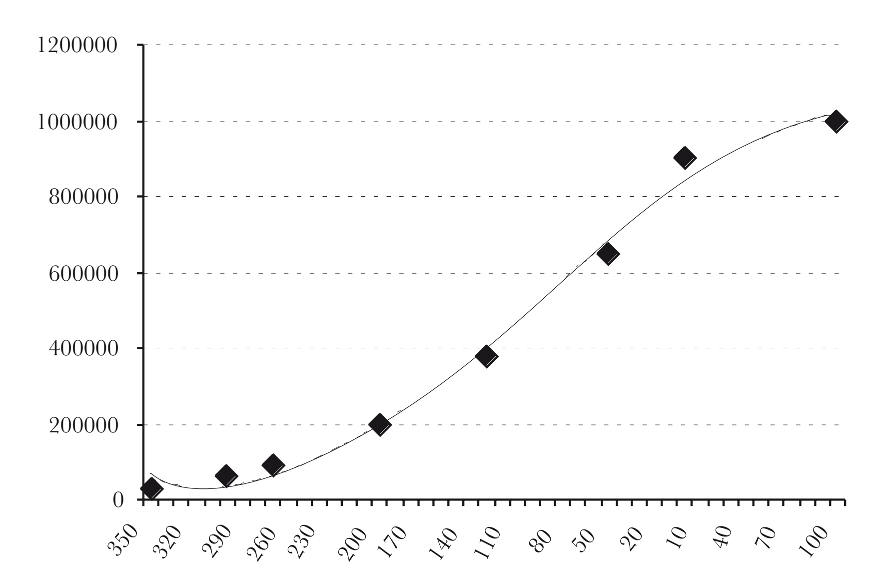


Figure 3. A speculative outline of the growth curve of the city of Rome. Source: Starr (1980) 15–26; Morley (1996) 39; Brunt (1987) 384; Hopkins (1978) 97–8; Nicolet (2000) 280.

expansion stalled but internal consolidation and economic development continued. There is no way of knowing whether the population of Rome ever fully plateaued prior to the 'Antonine plague' of the 160s CE but this is a comparatively trivial issue: the one thing that is hard to doubt is the S-shape of its overall long-term growth curve. The same principle even more clearly applies to classical Athens, which must have grown strongly for much of the fifth century BCE but not in the fourth: the middle segment of the 'S' would necessarily have coincided with the apogee of the Athenian empire, even if no numbers are available to back up this claim.

Relative growth

The preceding illustrations were concerned with gross growth. In a second step, we may relate metropolitan growth to national population growth. This procedure works best for early modern European capitals whose immediate (i.e., European) hinterlands did not grow, and whose overseas acquisitions were not normally a source of centripetal migration. For the same reasons, it cannot be applied to

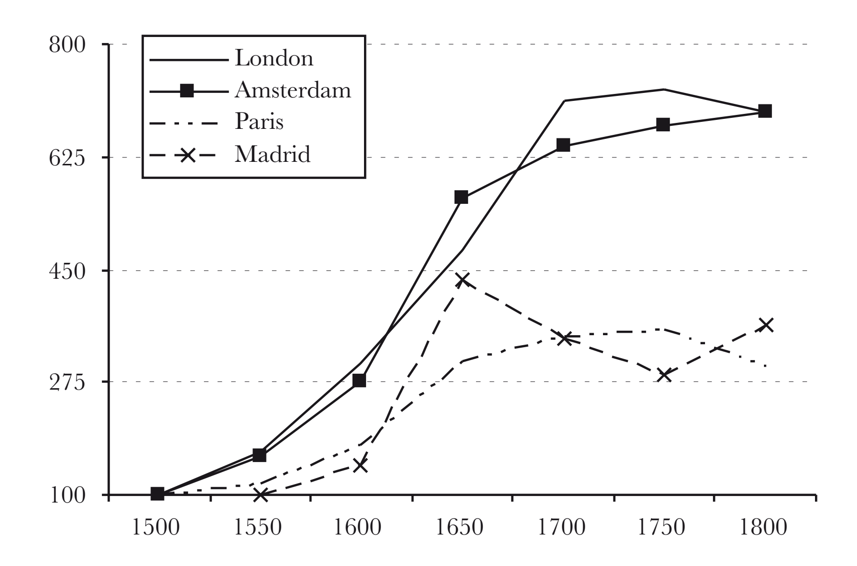


Figure 4. Share of the capital in in the national population. (Standardised rates; 1500 = 100).
Source: McEvedy and Jones (1978) 57, 65, 101; Wrigley and Schofield (1981) 528–9; De Vries (1984) 270–1, 275, 277.

cities such as classical Athens or Republican Rome, whereas Hellenistic capitals may be more readily susceptible to this kind of analysis (see below). Figures 4 and 5 track the percentage of the national population residing in four European capitals. (In these graphs, 100 represents this share in 1500. An increase to, say, 200 represents a doubling of this proportion, from × to 2× per cent.)

The use of polynomial trendlines in Figure 5 further clarifies the central trend. (Polynomial trendlines are 'best fit' approximations to graphs. They are created by a quadratic equation and smooth out fluctuations.) It is interesting to see that even London, in spite of ongoing growth, could not permanently outpace the rest of the country. Pre-modern capitals cannot keep growing disproportionally regardless of the scale of state success.

Limiting cases and the spectrum of analogy

Ptolemaic Alexandria—and other Hellenistic capitals—differed in important respects from these four early modern European cities.

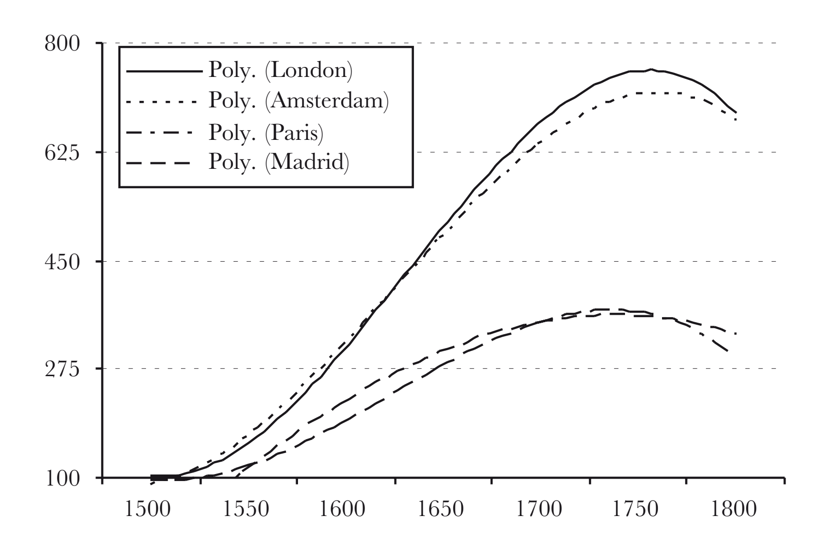


Figure 5. Share of the capital in in the national population. (Polynomial trend lines; standardised rates; 1500 = 100). Source: Figure 4.

Alexandria was only temporarily and to a limited degree the centre of a growing empire. Most extra-Egyptian territories ever to come under Ptolemaic control were acquired at an early stage: the Cyrenaica in 321/0, Cyprus in 312 and again in 295/4, and Palestine, Phoenicia and southern Syria in 301 BCE. The extent of what were for the most part comparatively minor possessions in the Aegean and southern Asia Minor fluctuated over time. An expansionist push into northern Syria and Mesopotamia in 246 BCE brought no lasting success. The bulk of the Ptolemaic overseas territories were lost in 198 and 197 BCE when the Seleucid empire absorbed the southern half of the Greater Syria region and the coastal areas of southern Asia Minor. From about the mid-second century onwards, Cyprus was repeatedly ruled independently of the centre until it was taken over by the Romans in 58/56 BCE. Cyrene was ceded to Rome in 96 BCE.[8]

In brief, expansion slowed down significantly after 300 BCE, stalled completely after the 240s BCE, and was gradually reversed in the

[8] Hölbl 1994 and Huss 2001 provide comprehensive accounts of Ptolemaic history.

second and first centuries BCE. Most of the Ptolemaic imperial system outside Egypt was already in place by 300 BCE and started to disintegrate only a century later. The relative importance of these possessions is hard to ascertain, although it is clear that it was outweighed by that of the Nilotic core. It is unlikely that even in the 240s BCE, more than one-third of the population controlled by the Ptolemies (perhaps 2–3 out of 6–7 million) lived outside Egypt. After the 190s BCE, this share must have dropped to no more than 10 per cent.[9] Thus, it was primarily in the third century BCE that extra-Egyptian possessions contributed substantially to Ptolemaic revenues. For instance, when inadequate inundation levels caused hunger in 245 BCE, Egypt was in a position to import grain from Cyrene, Cyprus and Syria.[10]

It is more difficult to assess Egypt's internal strength in any meaningful manner. Overall, third-century development projects in the Fayum are indicative of increasing intensification while repeated domestic unrest and southern separatism from about 200 BCE onwards may have reduced revenue flows.

In view of these developments, Alexandria could not have experienced a growth phase that was anywhere near as prolonged as Rome's. In the absence of comparably persistent and massive expansion, inducements to metropolitan growth were much more limited in scale and duration, were concentrated in the late fourth and the third centuries BCE, and turned negative after about 200 BCE. On a priori grounds, we might therefore envision a main growth spurt—the central segment of the S-curve—that was relatively short (in the sense that it should be measured in generations rather than centuries), and more generally metropolitan expansion that owed more to the reconfiguration of domestic rent flows and to adaptations of the productive systems than to geographical extensions of Ptolemaic rule.

Because of this, instances of strong metropolitan growth in fairly closed systems may be more suitable comparanda than the experience of the capital cities considered in the previous section. Edo (present-day Tokyo) is the classic example. Designated the political centre of the new Tokugawa regime in 1590, what started out as a

[9] For various population estimates, see McEvedy and Jones 1978, 125, 135, 138, 143, 225, 227; Aperghis 2001, 73–7.
[10] Hölbl 1994, 48. Control over Lebanese timber was another major bonus.

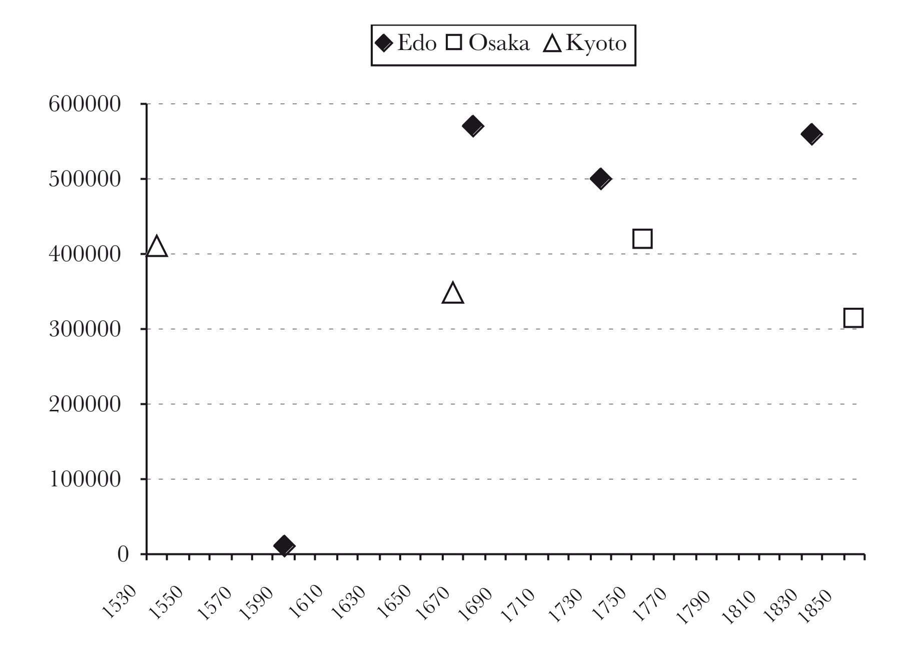


Figure 6. Urban growth and decline in Tokugawa Japan (commoner population). Source: Hanley (1987) 3–5.

cluster of villages around a castle rapidly turned into one of the largest cities in the world. In 1678, a survey of the commoner population (*chonin*) listed 570,361 residents. Apart from the possibility that this may be an undercount, we need to add at least 300,000 retainers of the Shogun and of the 260-odd *daimyo* (provincial lords) who were required to maintain establishments in the capital, and an unknown number of servants. All in all, a total of close to 1 million seems plausible. This process unfolded in the absence of any significant overseas expansion. Arguably because of this, growth stalled after about a century: between 1734 and 1867, the commoner population oscillated within a narrow band of variation from 500,000 to 560,000.[11] As a result, the metropolitan growth curve forms a highly distorted S, with no initial slow growth but a dramatic surge followed by a long plateau (Figure 6).

[11] Hanley 1987, 3–4. See also Rozman 1973, 296 for a total of 1 million for Edo.

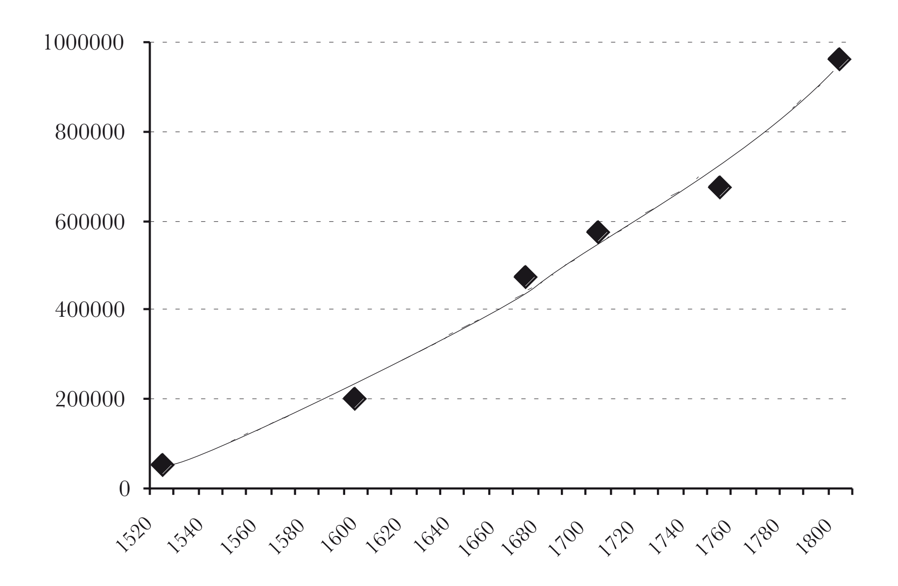


Figure 7. The growth of early modern London.
Source: Wrigley (1987) 162.

In order to put this pattern into perspective, we may once again draw on the example of early modern London as the prime example of continuous growth (Figure 7). As opposite extremes of metropolitan development, these two cases may serve as limiting cases bounding the spectrum of the historically plausible.

Was Alexandria closer to the 'Edo' or the 'London' end of the range? In view of the general circumstances of these two cities' growth, and especially of the exceptional nature of London's ascent, it is safe to say that Alexandria had more in common with Edo. Perhaps most importantly, Ptolemaic Egypt did not benefit from ongoing external—or for all we know internal[12]—expansion along the lines of England's achievements. Conversely, Alexandria resembled Edo in important respects. Both grew out of groups of coastal villages attached to military installations and owed their spectacular transformation to a regime change. Both were closely connected to their hinterlands by way of river and sea transport.

[12] See very briefly Rathbone 1990, 110–2.

At the same time, contextual differences also require attention. While Japan came to be completely isolated from the outside world, Ptolemaic Egypt expanded modestly for a while and continued to receive immigrants from overseas. Edo was the quintessential consumer city, in some ways comparable to, or even surpassing, imperial Rome in this regard. The *sankin kotai* system, established to control the local gentry, required the *daimyo* to spend every other year in the capital, and their families and part of their retinue to reside there permanently. In addition, a huge number of *buke*—recipients of state stipends provided by land under the direct control of the *Bakufu* (the government of the Shogun)—likewise lived in Edo. The presence of these elites and the rent flows generated by their entitlements attracted and sustained a massive commercial commoner population (*chonin*), which alone was covered by censuses (see above).

Edo embodies the main driving force behind metropolitan growth in an unusually pure form. In their cross-cultural study of 'urban giants', Ades and Glaeser found that political structure is a greater determinant of urban primacy than other variables contributing to metrocentric organization, (such as savings in transport costs), and that this principle holds true from antiquity onwards.[13] Rome, with its city-bound aristocracy and well-entrenched subsidies for commoners, is merely the most obvious example. Hellenistic capitals must likewise have benefited from courts, rent-drawing elites and the military establishment. What makes Edo stand out was the rigidity and formality of the connection between metropolitan residence and rent flows: aristocrats were formally compelled to come to Edo and spend their money there, and *buke* beneficiaries received rents directly from the state, without further mediation, and were also required to live in the capital or other designated cities. In both respects, Edo resembles but surpasses Rome, given that the Roman senate did not necessarily comprise all the wealthiest and most powerful provincials, and that the *plebs frumentaria* received less in per capita terms than the more privileged *buke*. Unfortunately, the precise configuration of rent flows to Ptolemaic Alexandria remains comparatively obscure. We may suspect that while resources were channeled to metropolitan residents in a less tightly focussed and straightforward fashion

[13] Ades and Glaeser 1995.

than in Edo or even Rome, there is no reason to believe that the Alexandrian economy did not critically depend on non-reciprocal resource transfers that were predicated upon political dominance.[14] The move of the central administration from Memphis to Alexandria was necessarily accompanied by significant re-alignments of rent flows, and the roughly contemporaneous acquisition of overseas territories equivalent to up to half of Egypt's population (and thus presumably of its output) cannot have failed to boost Alexandria's early development even further. It was not without good reason that the thoroughly unsympathetic 'Potter's Oracle' called Alexandria the 'all-nurturing city'.

In this context, another potentially important similarity between Ptolemaic Egypt and Tokugawa Japan catches the eye. The *Bakufu* directly controlled some 20 per cent of the national grain yield (*koku*).[15] The corresponding share of royal land (*basilike ge*) in the Ptolemaic period cannot be determined with the same level of precision: it could be very high in the newly developed Fayum, locally up to 50 per cent, but was presumably significantly lower in other parts of the country, especially if the incidence of land in the largely equivalent category of public land (*demosia ge*) in Roman times is anything to go by.[16] All we can say is that the proportion of agricultural output under the immediate control of the Ptolemaic government was unlikely to have differed vastly from that managed by the government of the Shogun. Although the former did not—as far as we can tell—hand over monies directly to a large percentage of Alexandria's residents, there is no real alternative to the assumption that much of the revenue from the royal lands ultimately found its way to the capital: as in other pre-modern capitals, government and elite spending would sustain a large 'contingent' economy of crafts, trades and services.

In a further step, the comparison between Edo and London permits us to explore the issue of metropolitan primacy and the relative scale

[14] For an exemplary exposition of the concept of the 'consumer city,' see now Erdkamp 2001. Evidence of commercial activity (e.g., Neesen 1990) has no bearing on this, as market exchange that is ultimately sustained by non-reciprocal resource transfers is part of the resultant 'consumer economy.'

[15] Rozman 1973, 68.

[16] Rowlandson 1985, 329–30.

of demographic metropolitisation. At first sight, Edo appears to have grown more dramatically than London: after all, it attained a population of about 1 million within a century or less, while it took London several centuries to move from several tens of thousands to a comparable tally. However, when we control for the different size of the underlying source populations, it becomes clear that London did in fact grow more rapidly in relative terms. Assuming that Edo grew from a notional 5,000 residents in 1590 to 1,000,000 in 1678 and that the Japanese population rose from 22 to 27 million during the same period, an average annual net transfer rate of 11,307 translates to the annual relocation to the capital of 1 in every 2,167 Japanese.[17] By contrast, if London grew from 40,000 in 1500 to 575,000 in 1700 while the English population increased from 2.5 million to 5.05 million, a mean annual net transfer rate of 2,675 yields an annual relocation ratio of 1 in 1,411, one and a half times the rate of early Tokugawa Japan.[18] (The ratio for the period from 1500 to 1800 is 1 in 1,819.)

This difference squares well with the fact that Japan had two great urban areas, one comprised of Kyoto, the seat of the emperor, plus the new commercial centre of Osaka, the other one being Edo in the Kanto plain. London, on the other hand, was the only truly large city in England, and consequently attracted more immigration. In 1534, Kyoto's population stood at 410,000 and finally dropped into the mid-300,000 range from the late 1660s onwards. The population of Osaka, greatly expanded in the early seventeenth century, peaked at 418,537 in 1763 before declining to 314,370 by 1858.[19] The contrast to England could hardly be more striking: in 1700, when London was home to over half a million, the second largest city, Norwich, recorded a mere 29,000 residents.[20] In the same year, London accounted for 11 per cent of all inhabitants of England and Wales, compared to Edo's 4 per cent share in the Japanese population.

Again, conditions in Ptolemaic Egypt more closely resembled the Japanese than the English scenario. Thanks to the ancient dualism

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[17] McEvedy and Jones 1978, 181; Hanley 1987, 3–4.

[18] McEvedy and Jones 1978, 43; Wrigley and Schofield 1981, 529; de Vries 1984, 270.

[19] Hanley 1987, 4–5.

[20] De Vries 1984, 270.

of Memphis and Thebes, and the continuing importance of these centres following the ascent of Alexandria, metropolitan primacy was far less pronounced in Egypt than in England. This, together with London's unusual position as the axial node of an expanding world system, makes it seem unlikely that Alexandria could have attracted immigrants at a proportional rate (relative to the source population) that rivalled London's. At the same time, and unlike Edo, Alexandria drew on immigration from outside the Ptolemaic sphere of control that may have increased the ratio of relocations to overall population size.

For the purpose of illustrating the practical implications of different transfer ratios, I have applied the ratios for London from 1500 to 1700 and for Edo from 1590 to 1678 to Ptolemaic Alexandria, schematically positing an initial population of 5,000 in 330 BCE and a source population of 4.5 million between 330 and 300 BCE, 6 million in the third century BCE, and 5 million thereafter (Table 1 and Figure 8). Any reasonable adjustments of any of these variables would not have any palpable effect on the results.

Table 1 Projected population growth in Ptolemaic Alexandria (rounded to 1,000s)

Year (BCE)	'Edo' ratio (1 in 2,200)	'London' ratio (1 in 1,400)
330	5,000	5,000
300	66,000	101,000
270	148,000	230,000
240	230,000	359,000
200	339,000	530,000
150	453,000	
100	566,000	

For the reasons outlined above, including the presence of other large urban centres and the limited scope of Ptolemaic expansion, it is inherently improbable that Alexandria could have grown faster than London, and I am therefore inclined to consider the 'London' rate a valid upper limit of any plausible range of growth rates for Alexandria. At the same time, we lack the means to establish a reliable lower limit. In view of the strong probability that at some point,

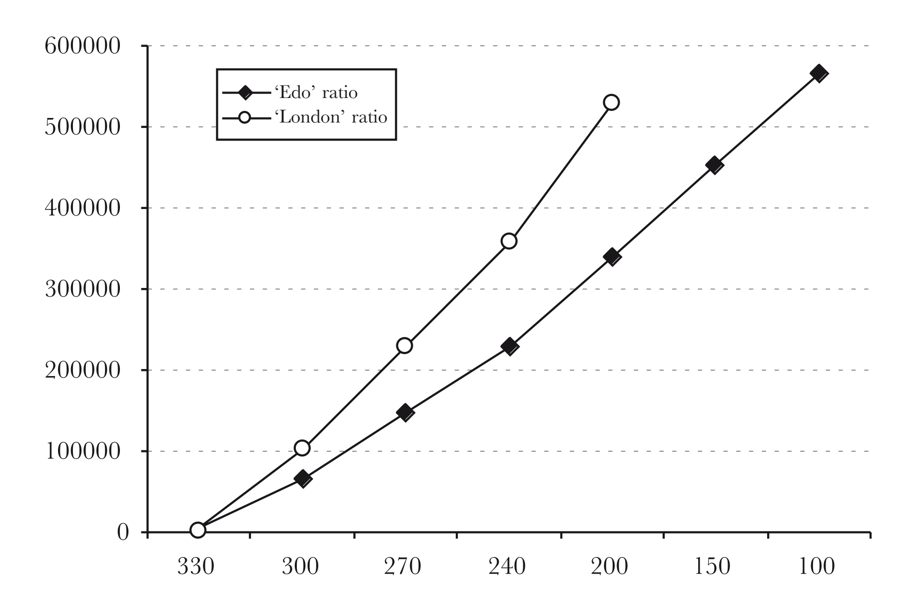


Figure 8 Projected population growth in Ptolemaic Alexandria.
Source: Table 1.

Alexandria's growth slowed down considerably, it is the overall duration of its principal expansion that is the critical variable. If net growth stalled around 200 BCE, at the beginning of imperial contraction and internal disturbances, the metropolitan population implied by the 'Edo' ratio would have numbered 340,000, against an a priori implausible 530,000 for the 'London' ratio.[21]

In the light of comparative evidence, however, the assumption of a sustained growth spurt of 120 years may well be overly generous. Figures 1–2 show that rapid metropolitan growth was commonly confined to a single fifty-year interval, and Edo failed to grow at all after a century. It may be more reasonable to assume that the demographic expansion of Alexandria was already slowing down in the

[21] For Alexandria's final population size, see below, pp. 27–29. Modern estimates of early Ptolemaic population numbers are completely arbitrary. Tscherikower 1927, 200 and Sonnabend 1991, 531 reckon with 10,000 free inhabitants or a total of 30,000 shortly after the foundation. Kolb's guess of 100,000 residents in 300 BCE (Kolb 1984, 124), matches the estimate derived from the 'London' ratio and is therefore most likely too high.

second half of the third century, and that the size of its population subsequently fluctuated for the next 200 years, perhaps declining somewhat in times of crisis, before it rebounded or even increased in net terms during the early Roman imperial period. In the most general terms, since the Roman conquest must to some degree have diverted rents from Alexandrian beneficiaries, the overall extent of any such secondary expansion under Roman rule should not be overrated, and is unlikely to have been equivalent to more than a fraction of the initial growth spurt in the late fourth and the third centuries BCE. Because the population of ancient Alexandria very likely did not exceed 500,000 at any given time,[22] and may well have been smaller, it is similarly unlikely that its Ptolemaic maximum exceeded, say, 400,000. A tally of between 300,000 and 400,000 around 200 BCE would be broadly compatible with the projections based on the 'Edo' ratio of immigration. Given the various structural similarities between the two cities, this may be an acceptable estimate, albeit one that should perhaps best be regarded as an upper limit rather than a proper expression of the full range of plausible outcomes.[23]

In the interest of clarity, and to dispel potential misapprehensions about the nature of comparativist extrapolations, I should stress that my prediction of an S-shaped growth curve for Ptolemaic Alexandria does not require us to accept my conclusion that this city bore a closer resemblance to Edo than to the early modern European capitals considered above. Regardless of whether we prefer to believe that metropolitan growth was primarily mediated by political change, or by domestic economic development, or by imperial expansion, the implied result is always the same. The new capital was likely to grow most substantially during the first century or so of Ptolemaic rule. This may be true because this period witnessed a re-direction of resources, causing massive centripetal migration which eventually approached the ceiling imposed by the scale of the disposable surplus, or because the same period was characterised by imperial success, internal stability and development projects. In practice, all of these factors would have converged in producing the suggested outcome. At the same time, we could not posit a fundamentally different

[22] See below, pp. 27–29.
[23] For the possibility of a lower total, see below, pp. 23, 29.

growth pattern for Alexandria without maintaining that the city had little in common with other major pre-modern capitals and was not subject to the structural inducements and constraints that guided their development. Short of falling back on the vapid truism that everything is possible, there does not seem to me to be a sensible alternative to a working hypothesis that is readily compatible with comparative evidence from a variety of other pre-modern settings.

Implications of metropolitan growth

This estimate necessarily raises another question: how would growth on this scale have affected the demography and economy of the hinterland? The relative share of immigrants from within and outside the Ptolemaic empire is unknowable, although the sheer size of Alexandria makes it seem likely that Egypt and the main overseas territories furnished the bulk of the city's population. In the following, I will assume that Alexandrian growth was in its entirety sustained by the Ptolemaic territories in order to maximise the implied domestic impact of this process. In reality, however, the contribution of foreign immigrants would have reduced the domestic demographic burden of metropolisation.

Any assessment of the gravitational pull of Alexandria hinges on the metropolitan rate of natural population growth. Owing to elevated mortality levels and/or lower marriage and birth rates, large pre-modern cities commonly experienced an excess of deaths over births. Local endemic disease environments were arguably the most important factor. Imperial Rome, for example, appears to have been a 'population sink' of epic proportions, dominated by hyperendemic falciparian malaria that interacted synergistically with a variety of other infections, and just as in later periods of its history it must have relied on massive immigration to maintain or increase its size. The unusually volatile profile of seasonal mortality among adults in late antiquity corroborates this assumption.[24]

Alexandria, by contrast, had a reputation for salubrity. Sea breezes moderated the local climate.[25] The surrounding marshes were reput-

[24] Sallares 2002; Scheidel 2003.

[25] Diodorus 17.52.2; Strabo 17.1.7; Ammianus 22.16.8. Haas 1997, 21 notes that today, Alexandria's population doubles in the summer months.

edly free from malaria, just like the ones around ancient Ravenna: in both cases, the salinity of encroaching sea water may have interfered with mosquito breeding.[26] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by which time intervening alluviation must have changed matters for the worse, malaria was confined to those parts of Alexandria that were close to the lake Mareotis but it was absent from northwestern areas.[27] Dates of death recorded on ancient tombstones do not reveal the consistent seasonal mortality variations that are a telling sign of lethal endemic infections. Although the sample is tiny, the contrast to comparable evidence from other parts of Roman and Coptic Egypt is striking. Other Mediterranean mega-cities, such as late Roman Carthage and early modern Naples, likewise lacked pronounced seasonality profiles.[28] According to Galen, in the second century CE Alexandria was rife with leprosy.[29] Albeit debilitating, this disease was certainly less lethal than widespread malaria or tuberculosis, and it seems unlikely that it could have spread so widely if tuberculosis had been rampant in the city. Even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Alexandria was markedly less unhealthy than Cairo, arguably in consequence of ecological differences.[30] All in all, we may hazard the guess that Alexandria's urban excess mortality, although it may well have played a role, was probably more muted than in many other large cities of its kind. Yet as before, for the sake of argument, I will select a negative growth rate that maximises the impact of migration to the capital. The (implausible) assumptions that all migrants originated from within the Ptolemaic empire, that the metropolitan population experienced an annual excess of deaths over births of 1 per cent (equivalent to Wrigley's estimate for early modern London),[31] and that the city had 530,000 residents in 200 BCE, will provide us with an upper limit for the demographic demands Alexandria's expansion imposed on its hinterland. Actual rates would undoubtedly have fallen short of the resultant estimate.

If, between 240 and 200 BCE, the population of Alexandria had

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[26] Strabo 17.1.7 (who ascribes the lack of marsh miasma to the annual inundation of the Nile); cf. Galen vol. 16, p. 363 ed. Kühn; Sallares 2002.

[27] Scheidel 2001a, 79 n. 206; 81.

[28] Scheidel 2001a, 4–25, esp. 20–2.

[29] Galen vol. 11, p. 142 ed. Kühn.

[30] Scheidel 2001a, 105–9.

[31] Wrigley 1987, 135.

increased by 4,275 people per year, and natural decrease had necessitated the addition of a further 4,445 individuals, annual immigration would have amounted to 8,720. This would have equalled 0.16 per cent of an epichoric source population of 5.6 million. An average natural growth rate of 0.16 per cent would have been within the capacity of the source population, even though immigration on that scale would undoubtedly have absorbed a very large share of all natural growth.[32] However, a more realistic model featuring a city of 300,000, net growth of 2,100 per year, and 0.5 per cent negative natural growth, requires merely 3,600 immigrants per year, or 0.06% of the source population. This estimate is broadly in line with probable long-term net growth rates in the eastern Mediterranean in the first millennium BCE.[33] If some of the migrants came from outside the Ptolemaic territories, as must have been the case, demand on domestic sources would have been even lower. These schematic calculations show that the immigration requirements that are logically implied by my above range of estimates (Table 1 and Figure 8) could have been met by the available sources without resulting in population decline or de-urbanisation outside the new capital. They also suggest that much higher guesses for Alexandria's final population size, of the order of 1 million, are improbable for demographic reasons alone.[34]

People are only one of the vital commodities that sustain a metropolis; food is another. In theory, the relocation of 1 in 1,400 or 2,200 primary producers (i.e., the rounded 'Edo' and 'London' ratios, though in this context deliberately high rates that neglect inter-urban and foreign-source migration) at stable national population levels and uniform living standards would have increased demand for food by between 0.05 and 0.08 per cent per year. With long-term annual intensive economic growth rates of around 0.05 per cent, an increase in demand on that scale could have been met without putting excessive strain on the agrarian population. More importantly, large grain surpluses continued to be available for export even in the Roman

[32] Bagnall and Frier 1994, 89, 103 posit an intrinsic growth rate of 0.2 per cent for Roman Egypt; but cf. Scheidel 2001c, 25 n. 124. See in general Scheidel forthcoming.
[33] Scheidel forthcoming.
[34] *Contra* Fraser 1972, I 91.

period, when Egypt as a whole may have been more heavily urbanised than under the Ptolemies.[35] This makes it unlikely that the availability of food posed a strong constraint on metropolitan population growth.[36] I shall only note in passing that provisioning a very large Alexandria with fuel may have created more serious difficulties. However, in the absence of a systematic study of pre-modern Mediterranean fuel requirements (a desideratum of the first order!), it is impossible to quantify the constraints this variable may have imposed on urban growth.[37]

To sum up: In what I consider to be the most plausible reconstruction, Alexandria grew fairly rapidly for a limited amount of time, probably between the 320s and the second half of the third century BCE, before net growth petered out or was perhaps even slightly reversed, followed by a comparatively modest secondary upswing under Roman rule. Metropolitan growth ratios in excess of London's and closer to Edo's are consistent with a Ptolemaic population maximum of not necessarily more than 300,000 in the late third century BCE. Even so, the margins of uncertainty are considerable, especially with regard to the likely lower limit of metropolitan population size. The following survey of the pertinent evidence leaves little doubt that textual sources can do little to mitigate this problem, while archaeology may hold somewhat greater promise.

The contribution of ancient evidence

The origins of Alexandria

Thanks to the prominent standing of the mature city, ancient authors repeatedly commented on the circumstances of its foundation, and modern scholars who are prepared to put some measure of faith in their reports have tended to share their interest.[38] It seems clear that

[35] For grain surpluses, see Scheidel 2001a, 231–5. Cf. Alston 2002, 330–60 for a model of urban development in Roman Egypt.
[36] Jähne 1981, discusses Alexandria's *chora*. Cf. Bernand 1995, 41 for swamps in its hinterland.
[37] Cf. van der Woude, de Vries and Hayami 1990, 8–13.
[38] See esp. Cavenaile 1972, and Green 1996. The most recent summary is Huss 2001, 63–9.

Alexandria was not set up in a complete vacuum. The village of Rhakotis (which may or may not have been connected with an older military installation) was incorporated into the new city, as was another village on the island of Pharos.[39] According to various literary accounts, other initial settlers supposedly included Macedonian soldiers; the inhabitants of Canopus; the residents of 12 or 16 villages; the inhabitants of unspecified adjacent cities; or more generally everybody who lived within a thirty-mile radius from the site. Perhaps not unreasonably, most of these groups were envisioned to have relocated under compulsion.[40] It is worth noting, however, that extensive pasturage with unruly herdsmen continued to survive to the east of the city.[41] The issue of the reliability of individual reports aside, these sources mostly converge in suggesting a strong or dominant Egyptian presence in the initial population. It seems unlikely that this trend changed much over time (cf. below).

Urban development in Alexandria and Antioch

The question of whether the city had originally been laid out on a grand scale has occasioned some debate. Despite the obvious temptation of anachronistic retrojection, modern observers generally tend to side with ancient authors who claim that this was indeed the case.[42] However, this issue cannot be properly addressed except with the help of archaeological documentation. In 1990, Hoepfner published a map of his version of Alexandria's original layout, featuring a rectangular street grid that could have accommodated up to 7,000 residential buildings covering some 350 hectares.[43] While material evidence of the original city wall is lacking, the location of early Hellenistic cemeteries indicates the likely boundaries of the early city.[44] Hoepfner himself scaled down the residential area to 250

[39] Fraser 1972, I 6, 17. For the role of Rhakotis in later Egyptian tradition, cf. Chauveau 1999.

[40] Justin 11.11.13; Ps.-Aristotle, *Economics* 2.33c; Curtius Rufus 4.8.5; Ps.-Callisthenes, *Life of Alexander* 1.31.8.

[41] Haas 1997, 39–40.

[42] E.g., Sonnabend 1991. Empereur 2000, 236 reckons with a large city from the start, 1,000 hectares enclosed by 21 kilometers of walls.

[43] Hoepfner 1990.

[44] Grimm 1996, 57–8. The necropolis of Shatby to the east was probably in use well beyond the late fourth century BCE (*ibid.* 58 and n. 28). South of Shatby,

hectares, while Grimm subsequently reduced it to 200 hectares with a suggested population of 60,000 to 80,000. However, a considerably larger number of people could have inhabited even this smaller area, well in excess of 100,000 and at least in theory up to 200,000.[45] Despite inevitable uncertainties about average population density, a more general agreement on the probable surface area of early Alexandria could provide a much-needed independent check on the projections of my schematic model. The reconstructions by Hoepfner and Grimm might be taken to indicate that early growth rates fell short of my lower estimate derived from the 'Edo' scenario. Even so, any assessment of the upper limit of the city's total population in, say, 200 BCE crucially depends on reliable information on whether and to what extent the residential area had come to exceed the original grid, in as much as the reconstruction of that grid is in fact valid (which remains controversial). In this context, it is important to note that some of the archaeological evidence presented by J.-Y. Empereur at the Columbia conference indicates that the surface area of the city expanded very rapidly at a fairly early stage.

Although Alexander's satraps Cleomenes and Ptolemy at first resided in Memphis, the government had moved to Alexandria by 319 BCE.[46] Public monuments appeared at a rapid pace. The Heptastadion dike joining Pharos to the mainland may have been constructed under Cleomenes or Ptolemy I (323–282 BCE). The latter also built the first Serapeum and is credited with building or extending the city walls. The lighthouse on Pharos was erected in the 290s to 270s BCE. Ptolemy II (282–246 BCE) completed the Museion. A new larger Serapeum was dedicated by Ptolemy III (246–222 BCE), while Ptolemy IV (221–204 BCE) built the mausoleum for Alexander and the previous Ptolemies.[47] We get the impression that despite ongoing developments, especially in the palace quarter,[48] most of the principal public structures were in place by the late third century BCE,

tombs in Hadra were in use from the late fourth to the early second centuries BCE, but the area had become settled by the late first century BCE (*ibid.* 58, 62).

[45] About 1,000 hectares of imperial Rome were taken up by residential buildings, for a population of up to 1 million (Coarelli 2000, 293). However, average population density in Alexandria may have been lower, although five and seven story buildings are in fact attested for other Egyptian cities: Alston 2002, 59 table 3.1.

[46] Huss 2001, 65.

[47] Fraser 1972, I 12, 20, 21, 28, 36.

[48] Thus Diodorus 17.52.4.

and it may not be unreasonable to suspect that the major construction projects coincided with the principal growth phase of the city.

In this regard, Antioch in Syria provides a fairly close parallel. Founded by Seleucus I after Antigonos' defeat at Ipsos in 301 BCE, it absorbed the population of its predecessor Antigoneia that had been established in 306 BCE.[49] As in the case of Alexandria, the original layout of Antioch is debated. While Downey assigned 225 hectares to Seleucus' settlement (less than Antigoneia's 360 hectares), Will most recently argued that the original foundation covered fewer than 90 hectares.[50] Settlers were reportedly drawn from Athens, Macedonia, Crete, Cyprus and Argos, and supplemented by retired mercenaries.[51] According to Strabo's less than compelling account, the original site consisted of a walled quarter for the Greek settlers and a second one, perhaps for the local Syrians. Be that as it may, Seleucus II (246–226 BCE) and Antiochos IV (175–164 BCE) were credited with adding a third and a fourth quarter.[52] If it is justifiable to use this as a rough index of urban expansion, it appears that pre-Roman growth was concentrated in the first 130 years of the city's existence. Antioch only gradually eclipsed Seleucia on the Tigris, which could draw on the resources of Mesopotamia and had received settlers from Babylon, allegedly to the extent that the latter eventually became unimportant.[53] The westward shift of the centre of gravity of the Seleucid empire was a prolonged process, not completed until Mesopotamia was lost to the Parthians in the second century BCE.[54] These developments, and the urban evolution of Antioch, might be best consistent with an S-shaped metropolitan growth curve characterised by substantial expansion in the third and early second centuries BCE.

The population of Alexandria

As usual, the origins of the metropolitan population are obsure. In Fraser's lyrical phrasing, 'It is an unfortunate fact that (. . .) over the

[49] For speculations on the latter's population, see Downey 1961, 81–2.
[50] Downey 1961, 79; Will 2000, 486.
[51] Downey 1961, 79–80.
[52] Downey 1941.
[53] Pausanias 1.16.3; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.122.
[54] On Antioch as a political center, see Sartre 2000.

origins of the population of Alexandria a darkness reigns, through which, at present, scarcely one chink of light gleams'.[55] Initially, the Greek citizen body, non-citizen Greeks, Egyptians, non-hellenic foreign immigrants, and slaves were the principal components.[56] The citizenry was organised in tribes, phratries and demes. Although its size remains unknown, Fraser believes that citizens were outnumbered by other resident Greeks.[57] Newcomers could be admitted to citizenship, but the process of recruitment is unknown.[58] A scatter of ethnic designations reveals the usual suspects: Athens, Samos, Cyrene, Rhodes. Hellenic onomastic material from Alexandria is useless for discerning geographical provenance.[59] Ptolemy's I founding or re-founding of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt drew on colonists from Argos, Thessaly, and perhaps Laconia.[60] Macedonian presence in Alexandria may largely have been confined to the royal guard.[61]

None of this tells us anything about the relative strength of the Hellenic element in the city. I suspect that despite their lack of civic status, Egyptians were presumably more numerous than any other group.[62] In contrast to their later prominence, there is no good sign of a sizeable Jewish community in the third century BCE.[63] Fraser plausibly speculates that in this period, Syrians were 'probably' the largest non-hellenic foreign group, drawn from areas under Ptolemaic control.[64] Slavery is not much in evidence, although it is again reasonable to surmise with Fraser that the institution was 'deeply rooted in the traditions of Greek urban life'.[65] Newly published Ptolemaic population registers from the *chora* corroborate this assumption.[66] Nevertheless, the share of slaves in the overall population remains unknown.[67]

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[55] Fraser 1972, I 62.
[56] Simplified from Fraser 1972, I 38.
[57] Fraser 1972, I 38–46.
[58] Fraser 1972, I 49, 65.
[59] Fraser 1972, I 64, 66.
[60] Fraser 1972, II 146 n. 189.
[61] Fraser 1972, I 52–4.
[62] Cf. Fraser 1972, I 54. Cf. I 71–3 for speculations on the incidence of intermarriage between Greeks and Egyptians. See Riad 1996, for Egyptian cultural influence. See also below, p. 27.
[63] Fraser 1972, I 54–8.
[64] Fraser 1972, I 58.
[65] Fraser 1972, I 73.
[66] Clarysse and Thompson forthcoming.
[67] For data from the Roman period, cf. Bagnall and Frier 1994, 48 (slaves con-

In view of this dispiriting concatenation of uncertainties, it is almost impossible to trace change over time. The apparent growth of the local Jewish population from the second century BCE into the early Roman period is the main exception.[68] Polybius, in the mid-second century BCE, distinguished between three elements: first, Egyptians; second, 'numerous' mercenaries; and third, the Alexandrians, described as a 'mixed' people but of Greek origin and custom.[69] We cannot tell whether the top billing for the Egyptians was meant to imply a ranking in terms of quantity. In any case, the shortage of Egyptians in an early Augustan archive from Alexandria cannot possibly reflect the general makeup of the population.[70] Finally, whether the observation that in local inscriptions and documents, individuals with Greek names that are not accompanied by status designations were 'conspicuously less numerous in the Ptolemaic than in the Roman period' really means that they were increasing in number must remain uncertain.[71] In the absence of quantifiable evidence, much of the modern literature is preoccupied with the relations between different ethnic groups within the city.[72]

I have summarised all this material to demonstrate how little the sources tell us. With regard to the breakdown of the metropolitan population, no meaningful theoretical predictions can be verified or falsified by the available data, and it is impossible to relate models to evidence. It does not help that the origin of the population of other Hellenistic foundations is similarly obscure.[73] Apart from symbolic figures,[74] even the most rudimentary statistics are generally unavailable. There is no good reason to doubt reports that forced population transfers played a significant role, at least in the early stages of new settlements. Tigranocerta is the most extreme case, populated with the inhabitants of 12 Greek cities in Cilicia and

stitute 13 per cent of persons listed in census returns from the cities of Middle Egypt), and Harris 1999, 69 (*P.Oxy* 44.3197).

[68] Fraser 1972, I 83–4; Smallwood 1981, 221–2, 225.

[69] Polybius in Strabo 17.1.12. Reymond and Barns 1977, 27 maintain that Polybius refers to a mixture of Greeks and Egyptians rather than among Greeks.

[70] Fraser 1972, I 91–2, for 260 Greek names without further distinction, 65 citizens, 35 Romans and only 18 Egyptians. Cf. Delia 1988, 276.

[71] *Pace* Fraser 1972, I 51.

[72] E.g., Burkhalter and Martin 2000.

[73] Tscherikower 1927, 190–209 is still the fullest account.

[74] Tscherikower 1927, 198–9.

Cappadocia plus assorted 'barbarians'.[75] However, Appian's tally of 300,000 is probably a mere symbol,[76] and the scale of the process seems unique. Migration of Greeks from the mainland is repeatedly attested and was presumably substantial, but once more we lack a good idea of the numbers involved.[77]

In view of all this, it seems unlikely that we will ever be able to progress beyond the statement of the 'Potter's Oracle' that Alexandria harboured 'all the races of mankind'. Somewhat more encouragingly, Robert Sallares argues in unpublished work that owing to low transmission rates, for Roman Alexandria to have been a hotbed of leprosy, much of its population must have come from areas in which the disease was common, i.e., from Egypt rather than other parts of the Mediterranean. If correct, this observation would help underpin some of the schematic calculations about the impact of Alexandria's expansion on its hinterland (see above).

The size of the population of Alexandria

It is generally assumed that the population of Alexandria did not attain its maximum size until the Roman period. The best indication for this is that by then, the built-up area had spread beyond earlier boundaries.[78] Estimates vary from 825 hectares to 1,000 hectares from Augustus onwards.[79] However, we must bear in mind that average population density need not necessarily have grown at the same rate as the urban landscape: by the time of Strabo, the palace quarter had reportedly come to take up between one-quarter and one-third of the entire city.[80] Furthermore, intramural gardens and orchards are attested in the Roman period.[81]

The only surviving figure, Diodorus' report that more than 300,000

[75] Tscherikower 1927, 197.
[76] Appian, *Mithridatic War* 67, nevertheless defended by Tscherikower 1927, 199. See below, p. 28.
[77] Tscherikower 1927, 201–3. Rathbone 1990, 113 reckons with 'not more than 50,000 Greek military settlers in Egypt by the end of the third century BC,' and at most 400,000 Greeks in Egypt altogether.
[78] Delia 1988, 277; and see above, p. 22.
[79] Delia 1988, 278; Haas 1997, 46.
[80] Strabo 17.18. Pliny, *Natural History* 3.62 reckons with one-fifth. See Delia 1988, 279.
[81] Haas 1997, 46.

eleutheroi resided in the city in the mid-first century BCE, is less helpful than it might seem. The identity of these individuals remains unclear (the entire free population or adult males only; the inhabitants of the city proper or of its territory?), and in spite of Diodorus' claim to have derived this number from official records, it looks suspiciously like a round, symbolic figure, equivalent to his tally of three million for the population of Egypt, and painfully reminiscent of Appian's 300,000 deportees that had been re-settled in Tigranocerta and the Elder Pliny's 600,000 inhabitants of Seleucia on the Tigris.[82] Pseudo-figures like these are unlikely to lose their grip on the modern scholarly imagination until we assemble a comprehensive database of all numerical values reported in the Greco-Roman literary tradition that will finally elucidate patterns of stylisation beyond any reasonable doubt.[83] Delia posits an upper limit of 500–600,000 for the early Roman city, while Haas opts for what he considers a 'conservative figure' of 200,000 for late antiquity without disallowing the possibility of a larger total.[84] In any case, there is no doubt that Roman Alexandria was physically much smaller and therefore less populous than imperial Rome.[85]

Consideration of the demographic development of Cairo, traditionally the largest city in late medieval and early modern Egypt, may also help discourage inflated assumptions about the size of ancient Alexandria. From the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, Fustat may have been inhabited by some 120,000 people on 300 hectares, or perhaps 200,000 together with Qahira. In the fifteenth century, the urban agglomeration of Cairo, Fustat and Bulaq covered 600 hectares and housed perhaps 250,000.[86] This total changed little until the mid-nineteenth century.[87] From the 1820s onwards, Alexandria itself had been the main beneficiary of a transformation

[82] Diodorus 17.52.6 (Alexandria); cf. 1.31.8 (Egypt); Pliny, *Natural History* 6.122 (Seleucia). For recent discussions, see, e.g., Delia 1988, 283–4; Rathbone 1990, 103–7; Lo Cascio 1999. Diodorus' inaccurate statement that Alexandria was larger than other cities does not inspire much confidence: see below.

[83] For preliminary surveys, see Duncan-Jones 1982, 238–56; Scheidel 1996; and cf. Scheidel 2001b, 49 on demography.

[84] Delia 1988, 284; Haas 1997, 45–7, and cf. 375–6 n. 3 for a discussion of the literature.

[85] Nicolet 1999 provides an instructive comparison.

[86] Raymond 2000, 440–2.

[87] McCarthy 1976, 29–31.

of the Egyptian economy that was unparalleled in the country's history. Even so, the city did not attain a population of 320,000 until 1897, at a time when Egypt's population had already grown to 10 million, a tally well in excess of any credible estimate for the Ptolemaic period.[88] The burden of making a persuasive case rests squarely on anyone wishing to maintain that as one of three main urban centres of a less populous region, the ancient city could have supported a significantly larger population.

Alexandria's impact

In theory, Ptolemy I's move from Memphis to a newly established city ought to have resulted in a smaller capital than might otherwise have developed.[89] However, the dramatic growth of Edo shows that the relative effect of such a decision need not be large, and in any case remains impossible to measure. In Tokugawa Japan, the rise of Edo caused the two other major cities to lose population, albeit only on a modest scale. As mentioned above, the population of the ceremonial centre of Kyoto declined from 410,000 in 1534 to the mid-300,000s in the late 1660s, a loss of about 15 per cent. For a century and a half, Osaka grew alongside Edo until its population peaked at 418,537 in 1763 before it dropped to 314,370 by 1858, a belated loss of 25 per cent.[90] In terms of location and function, Memphis resembled the landlocked ancient royal city of Kyoto, and we may suspect that the former lost revenue and population during the Ptolemaic period without necessarily experiencing a severe depression. In fact, Memphis continued to be a large city under Ptolemaic rule.[91] At the same time, the 'Potter's Oracle' and similar texts reveal revisionist antagonism to the new 'foreign' capital city and a desire for the revival of Memphis.[92] Strabo maintained that Memphis had soon become 'second after Alexandria', and reports that in his own day, sphinxes near the Serapeum in Memphis were partly covered with sand dunes.[93] Even so, the same source suggests

[88] Panzac 1978, 201; Scheidel 2001a, 212.
[89] Glaeser 1999, 23–4.
[90] Hanley 1987, 4–5.
[91] Thompson 1988, esp. 32–5.
[92] Huss 1995, 76–7.
[93] Strabo 17.1.32.

that this city fared much better than Thebes which was said to have faded while Ptolemais grew until it rivalled Memphis itself.[94]

The impact of Alexandria's expansion on the urban network of the Levant still awaits detailed investigation. In 1991, Högemann made a promising start by asking in which way the creation of a new mega-city altered existing systems of exchange. He plausibly expands on Tarn's suggestion that Alexandria was founded to replace Tyre which, unlike Gaza, Alexander did not have restored after its destruction. However, Högemann's approach suffers from excessive emphasis on the supposed importance of the re-routing of long-distance luxury trade for the fortunes of large metropoles.[95] A lot of work still needs to be done in this area.

Conclusion

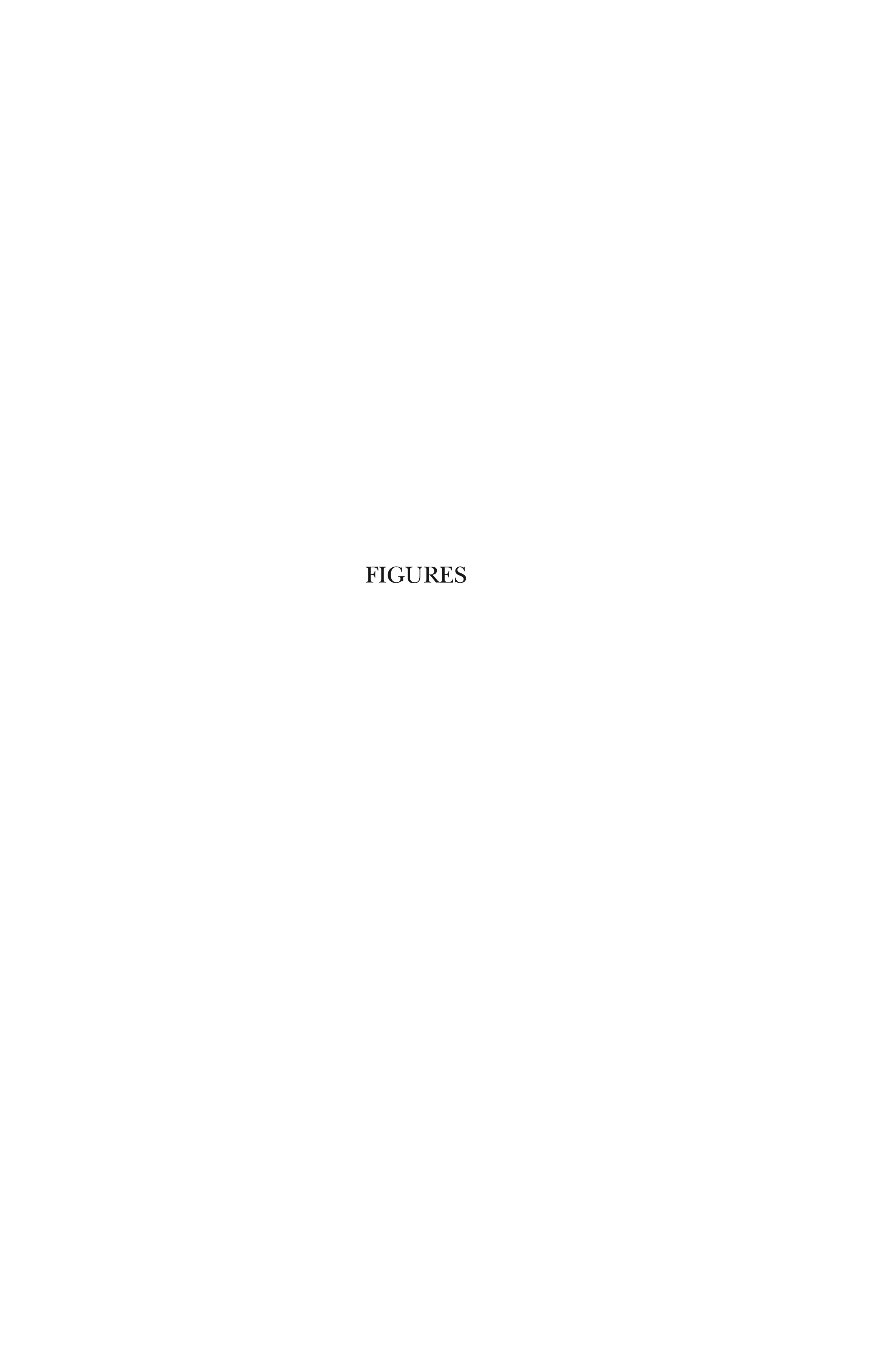
Ideally, the second part of this paper would have been entitled 'Testing the model'. Yet it will have become clear by now that ancient textual sources tend to be of very limited value in providing independent checks on the theoretical predictions and comparativist analogies advanced in the first part. Archaeology alone has the potential to cast some light on the urban evolution of early Alexandria, and thereby to put some constraints on sheer probabilistic modelling. Ideally (again), Alexandrian archaeologists will recognise the heuristic utility of predictive models and the comparative application of concepts derived from better documented premodern systems to the study of ancient urbanism, and seek to relate their findings to propositional constructs such as this one in order to contextualise ancient data within the wider ambit of pre-modern history, and—where feasible and appropriate—to verify or falsify specific theoretical predictions.

In the interest of clarity, and to provide a conceptual template for future research, my probabilistic predictions (which should by no means be mistaken for convictions or even claims about actual conditions) can be summarised as follows. Regardless of the scale of its initial layout, the city of Alexandria grew rapidly during the last

[94] Strabo 17.1.42, 46.
[95] Högemann 1991.

quarter of the fourth and during much of the third centuries BCE. Growth subsequently slowed down and the size of the population oscillated within a band that did not deviate dramatically from the presumed peak at the end of the third century BCE. The Roman takeover facilitated further urban expansion the extent of which should not be overrated. In this connection, it would not make sense to 'predict' population estimates that are not susceptible to empirical substantiation. All I am prepared to say is that a guess of a Ptolemaic population peak of (say) 300,000 around 200 BCE, and of a Roman population maximum that did not exceed this number by (say) more than one-third, could readily be accommodated within the parameters of my model.

There are many more things we would need to know to get an idea of how Alexandria 'worked': the organisation of its supplies, its impact on other cities beyond Memphis, the extent to which elite spending shifted to the new centre, and how the driving forces behind the secondary expansion of the city differed from the original ones. The question of how the apparent expansion of the Jewish element in the city's population in the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods might have interfered with the proposed S-shape of the metropolitan growth curve is another issue worth considering. Many of these and related questions may never receive satisfactory answers. Even so, one point is not in doubt: that without viewing Alexandria in context, both ancient and global-historical, we cannot even begin to address any of these problems.



FIGURES



Fig. 1. Sarcophagus of Dioskourides. Provenance unknown, probably Saqqara. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 40. Courtesy Musée du Louvre. Mid 2nd century BCE.

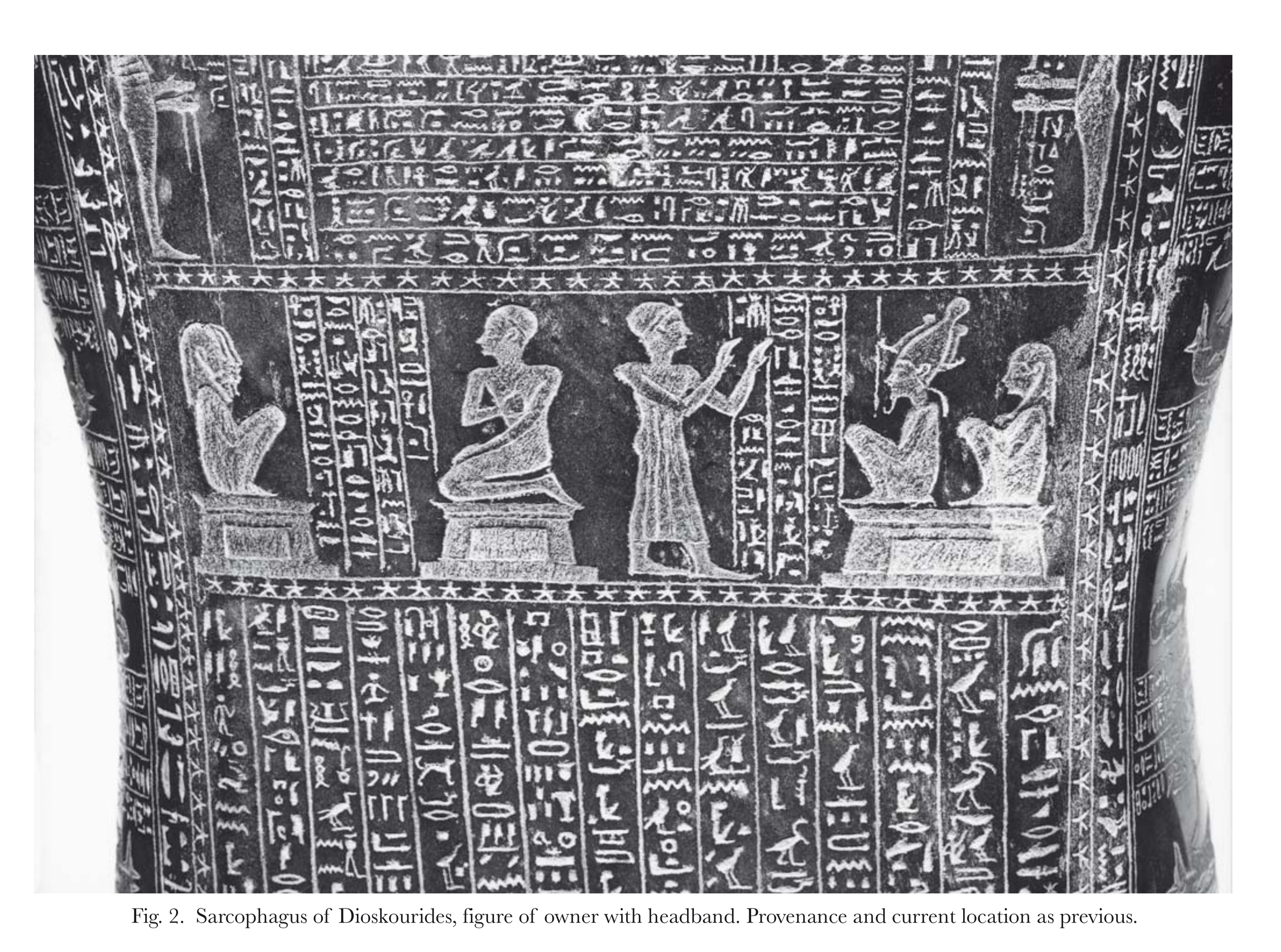


Fig. 2. Sarcophagus of Dioskourides, figure of owner with headband. Provenance and current location as previous.

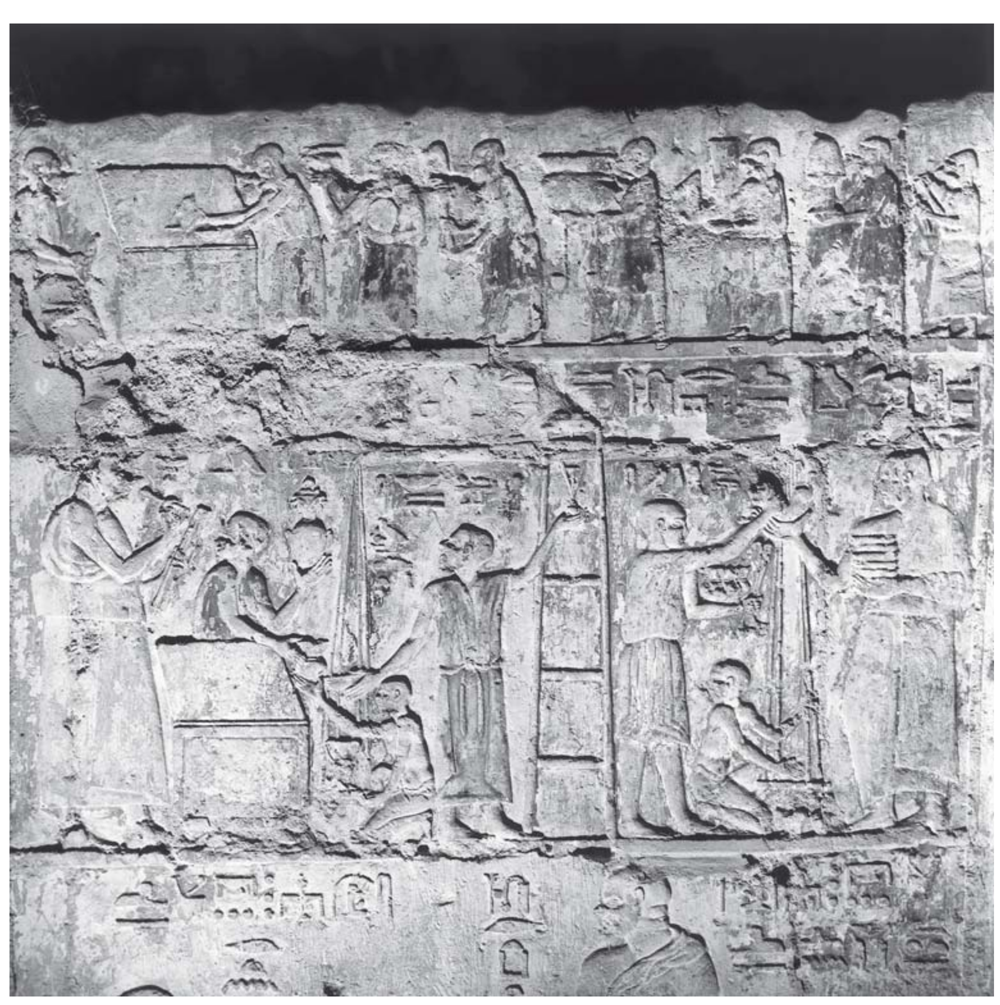


Fig. 3. Tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel, outer area between two columns of the entrance screen wall. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. ca. 300 BCE.

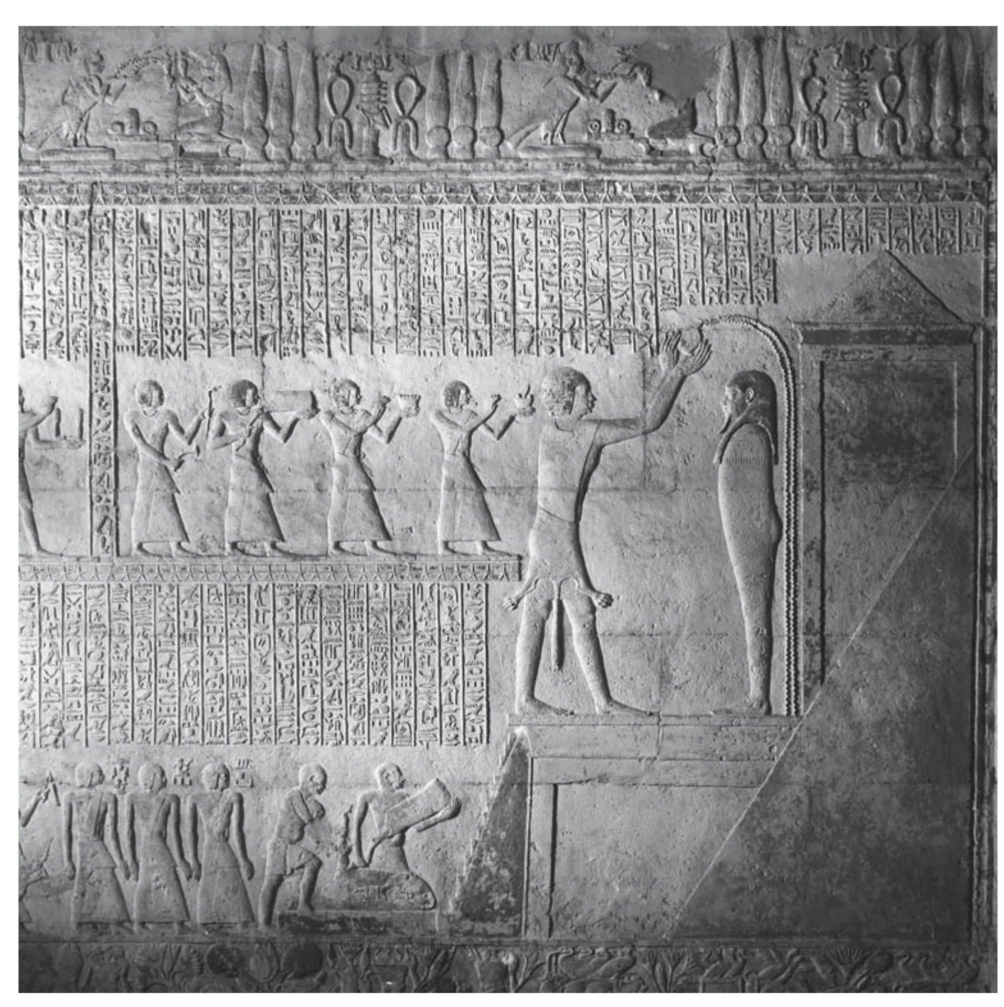


Fig. 4. Tomb of Petosiris, inner area ("chapel"). Limestone relief: libation of the mummy in front of the tomb, biographical texts. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. ca. 300 BCE.

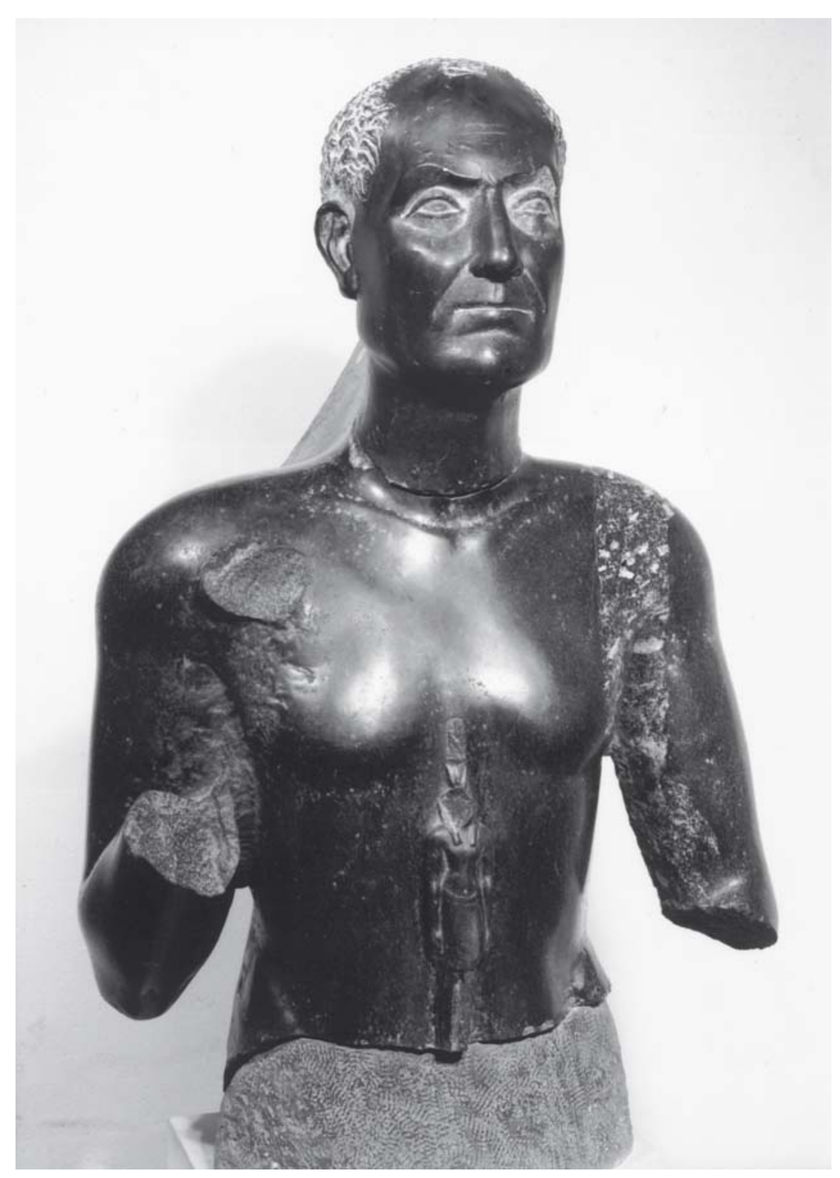


Fig. 5. Statue of Panemerit from Tanis. Torso Musée du Louvre E 15683, head Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 27493. Photograph of cast of head on original of torso. Courtesy Musée du Louvre. Reign of Ptolemy XII, 80-51 BCE.

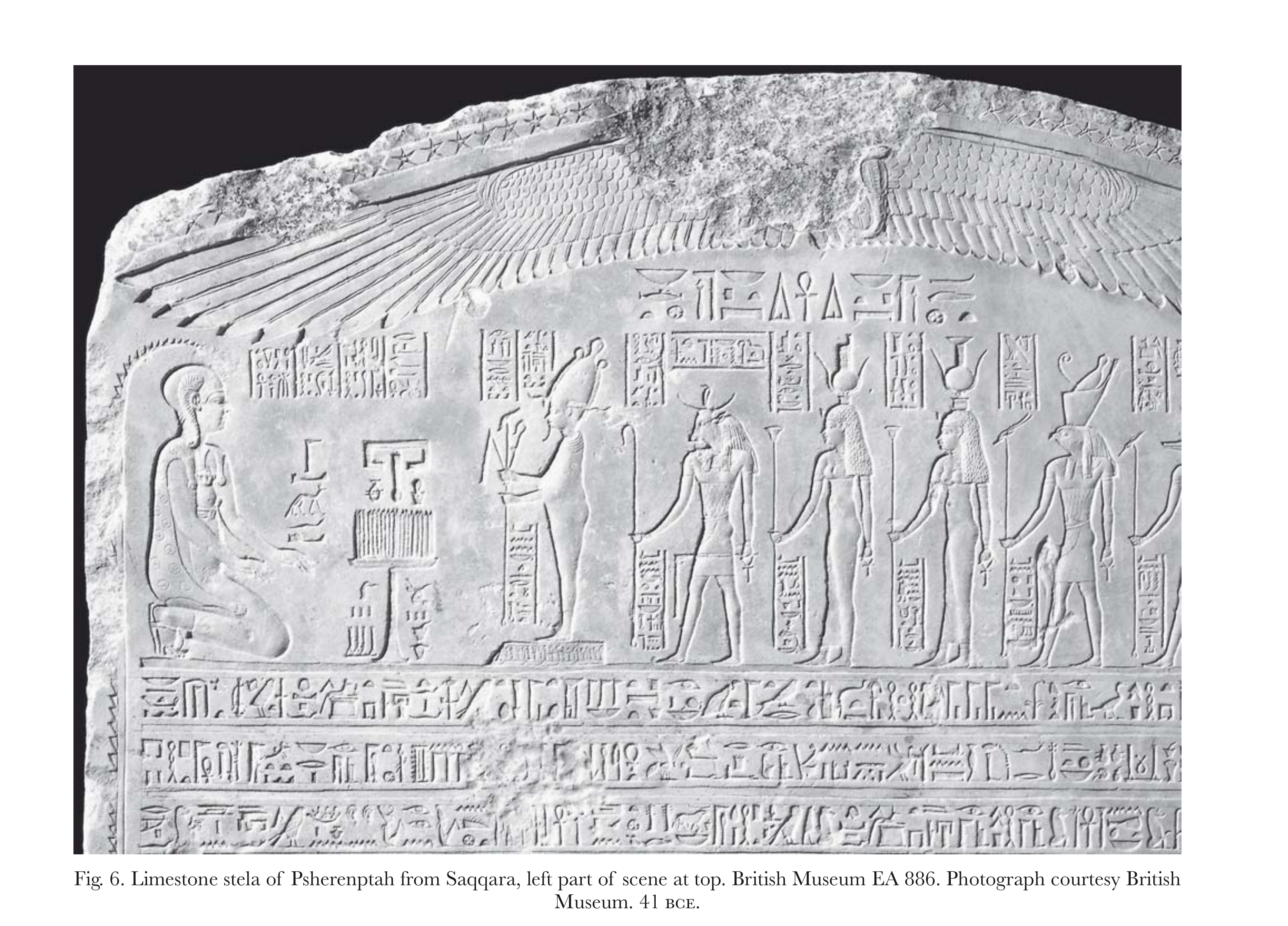


Fig. 6. Limestone stela of Psherenptah from Saqqara, left part of scene at top. British Museum EA 886. Photograph courtesy British Museum. 41 BCE.



Fig. 1. Nubian vendor with monkey. Bronze. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 2. Nubian singing. Basalt. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

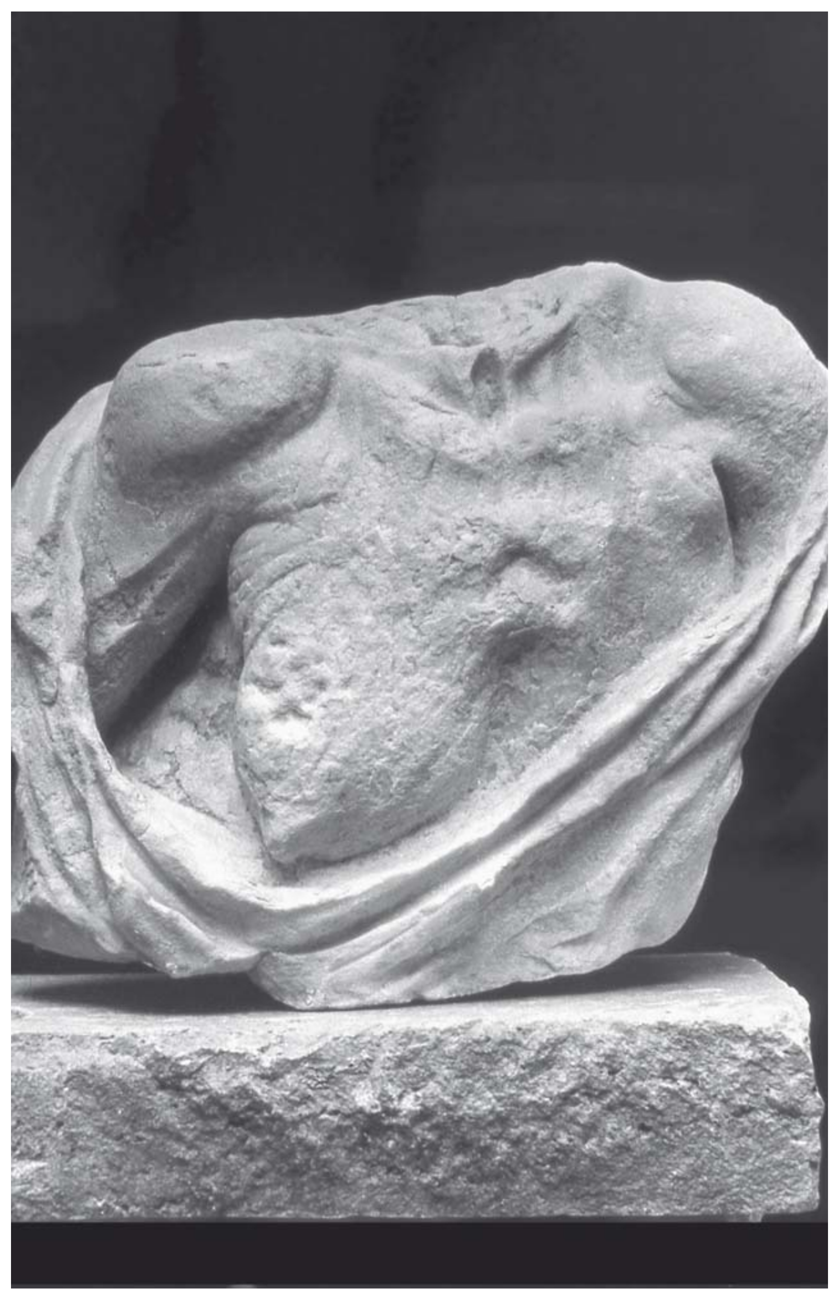


Fig. 3. Fragment of a statuette of an old woman. Marble. Sabratha, Favisse del Capitolium.



Fig. 4. Statue of an old fisherman. Marble. Rome, Vatican Museum, Galleria dei Candelabri.



Fig. 5. Statue of an old fisherman. Basalt. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

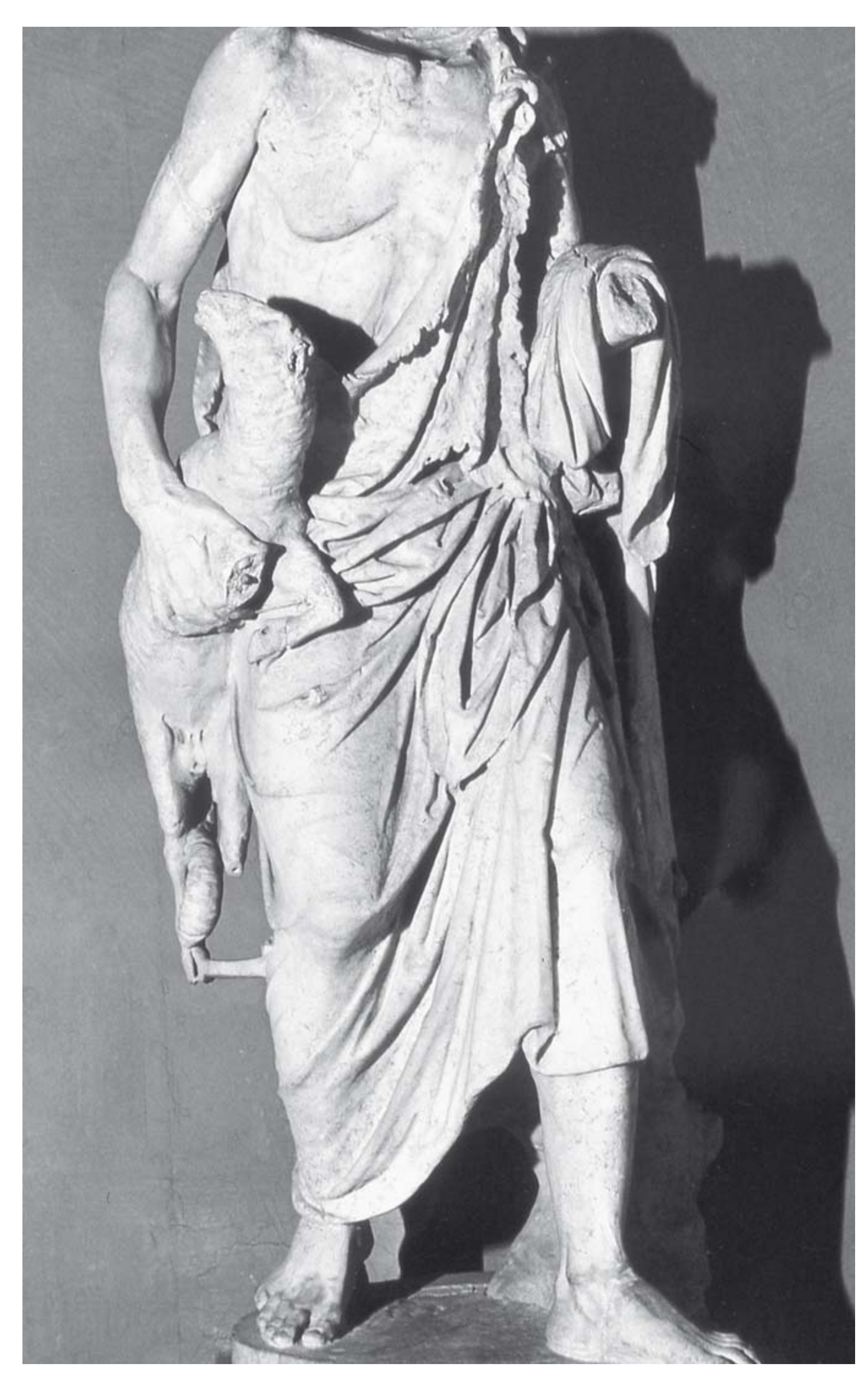


Fig. 6. Statue of an old shepherdess. Marble. Rome, Museo dei Conservatori.

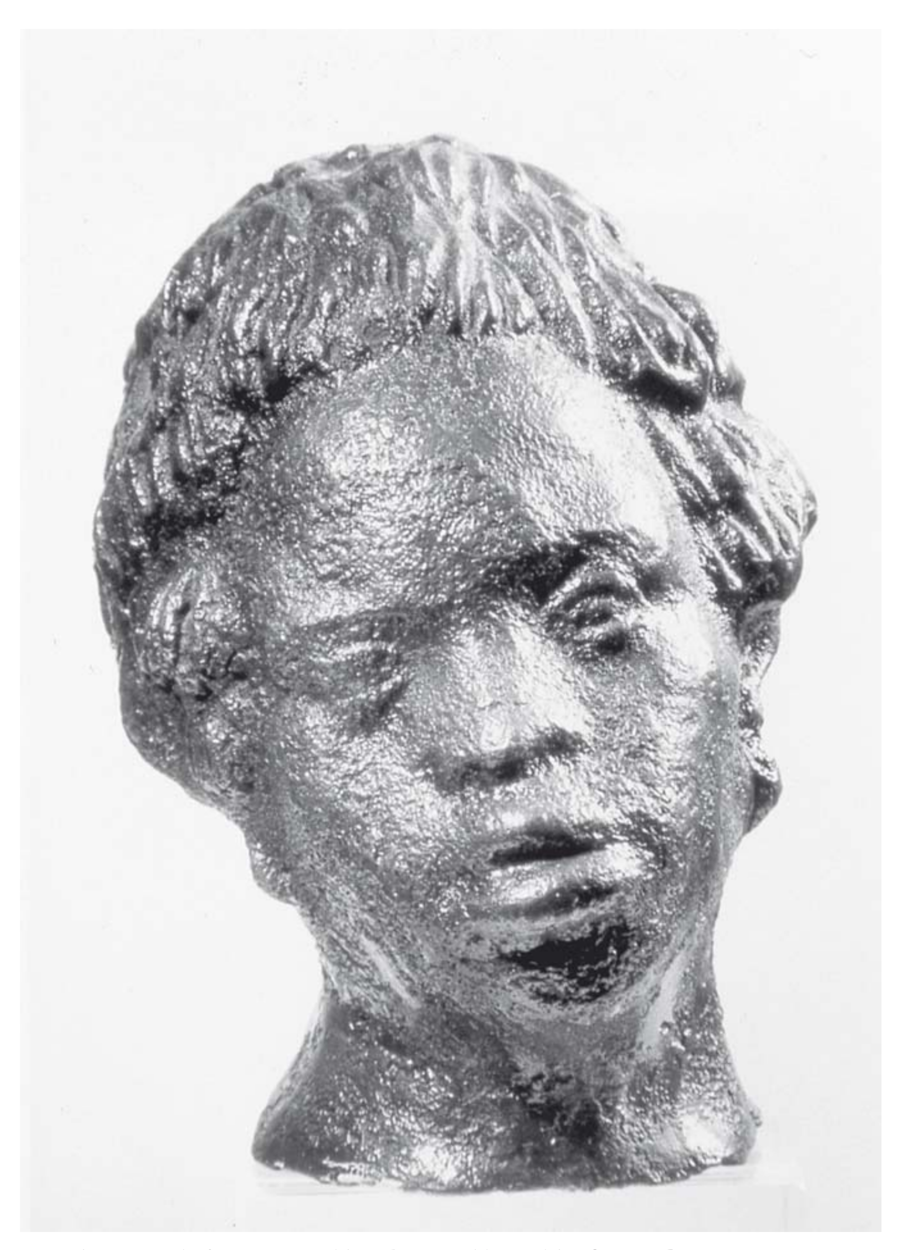


Fig. 7. Head of a young Nubian. Bronze. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 8. Small sleeping African. Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 9. Grotesque female dwarf dancer. Bronze. Tunis, Bardo Museum.



Fig. 10. Grotesque female dwarf dancer. Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 11. Young African water-carrier. Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 12. Lamplighter. Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 13. Date-picker. Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 14. Head of a Galatian. Polychrome terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



Fig. 15. Nubian musician. Bronze. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Fig. 16. Statuette of the *Placentarius*. Bronze. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

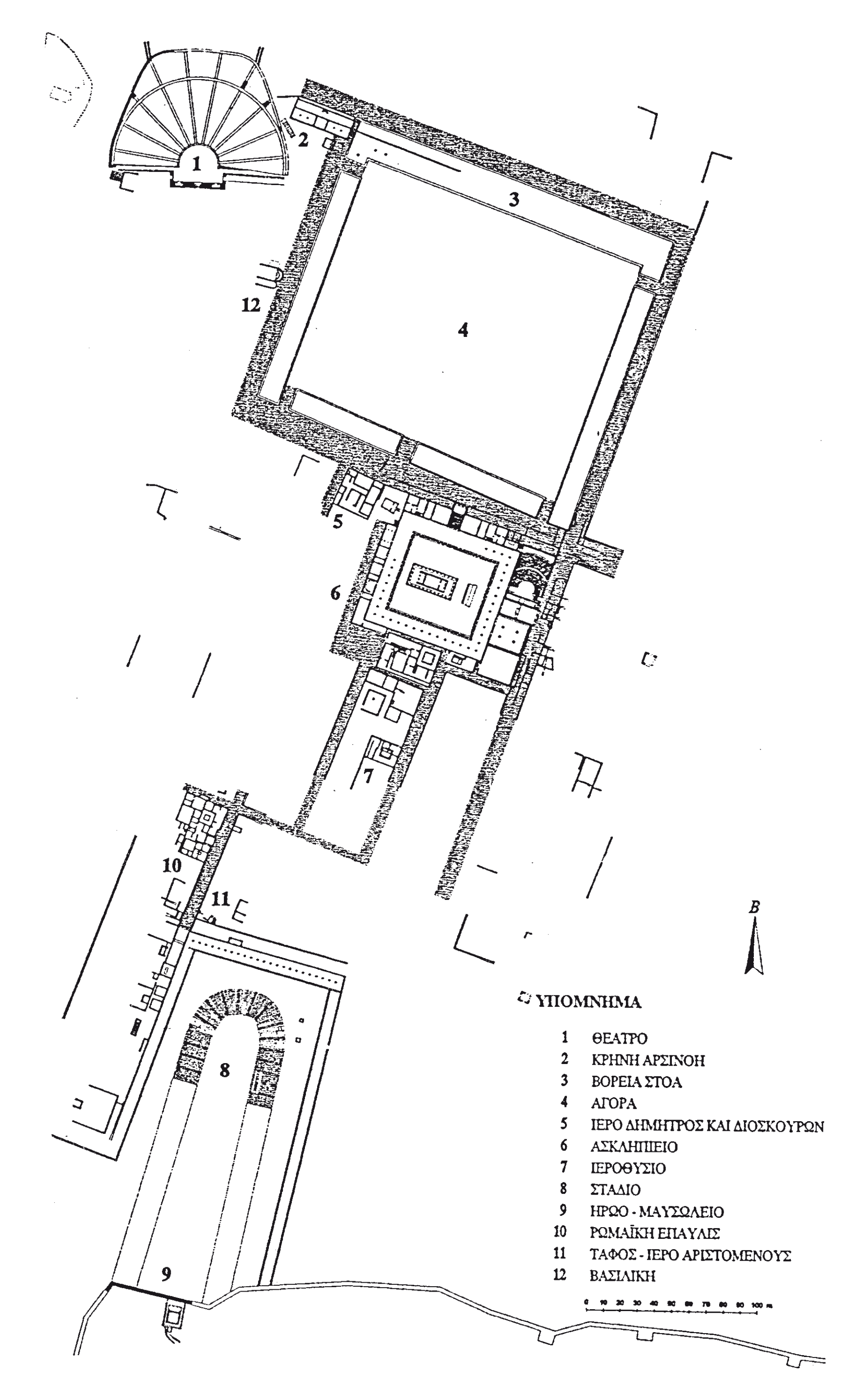


Fig. 1. Plan of the center of the city of Messene. The *hierothysion* is number 7. Thémélis 2000: 59.

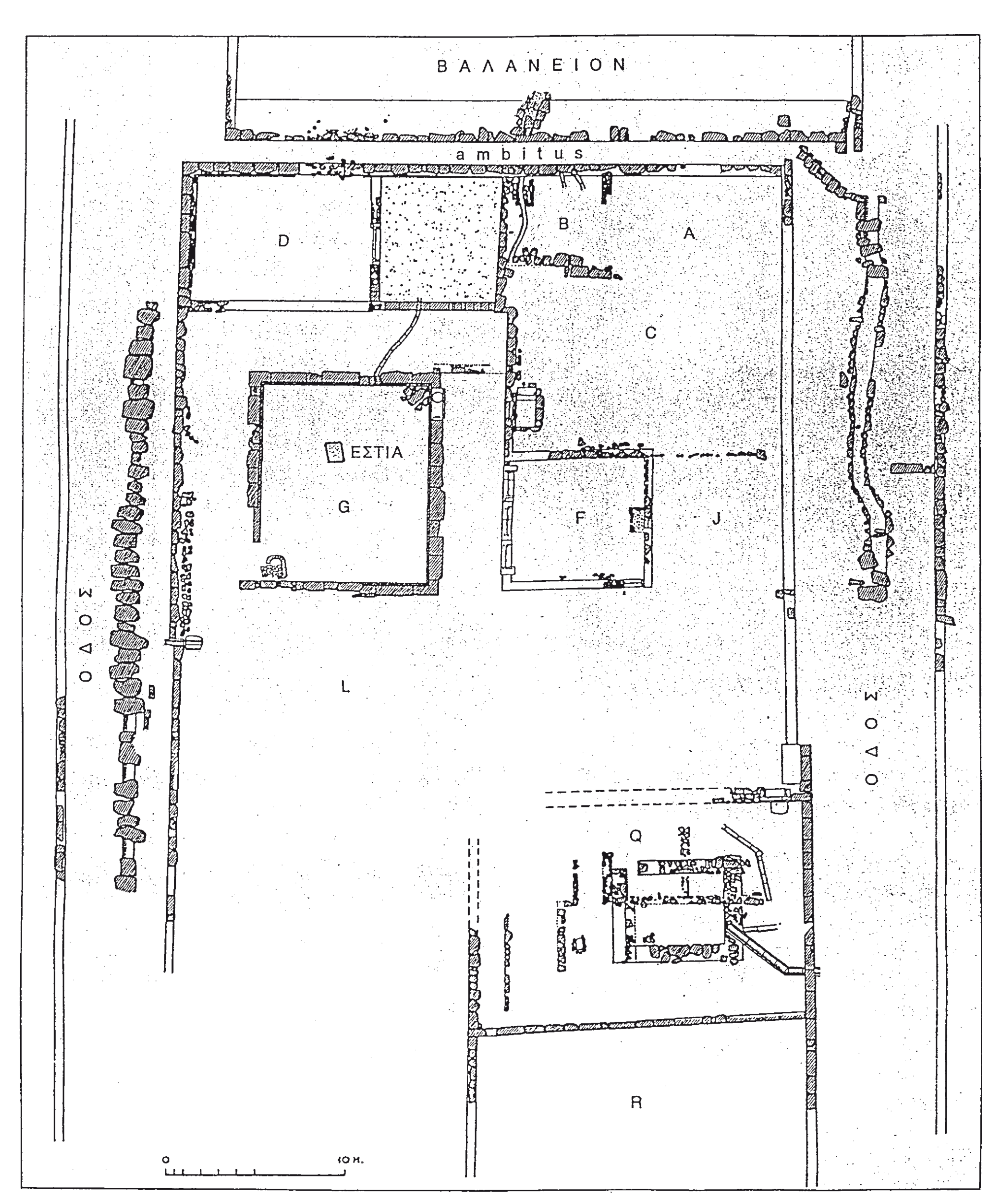


Fig. 2. The *hierothysion* buildings in Messene. Thémélis 1999.



Fig. 3. Altar of the Twelve Gods at Alexandria. Photo CEA.



Fig. 4. Altar of the Twelve Gods at Alexandria. Photo CEA.

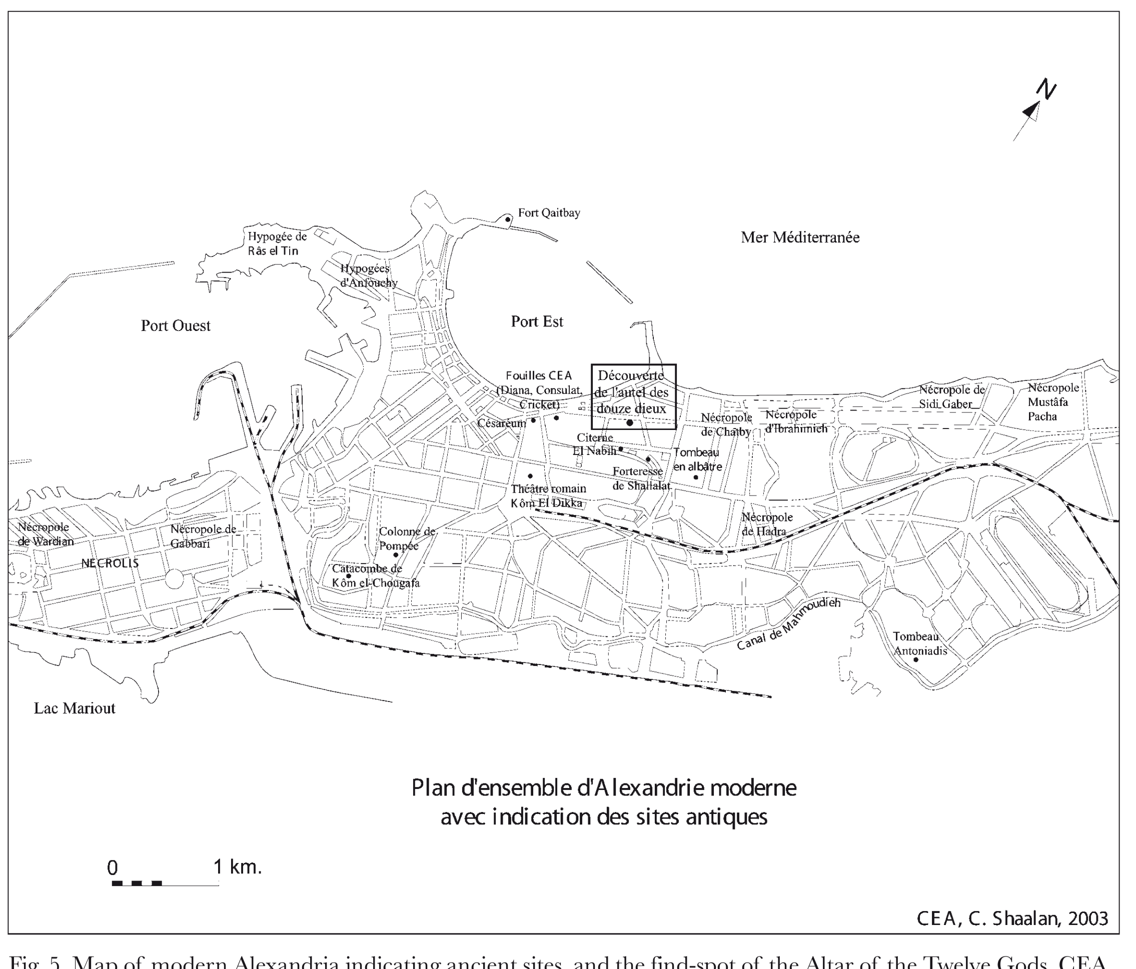


Fig. 5. Map of modern Alexandria indicating ancient sites, and the find-spot of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. CEA, plan Cécile Shaalan.

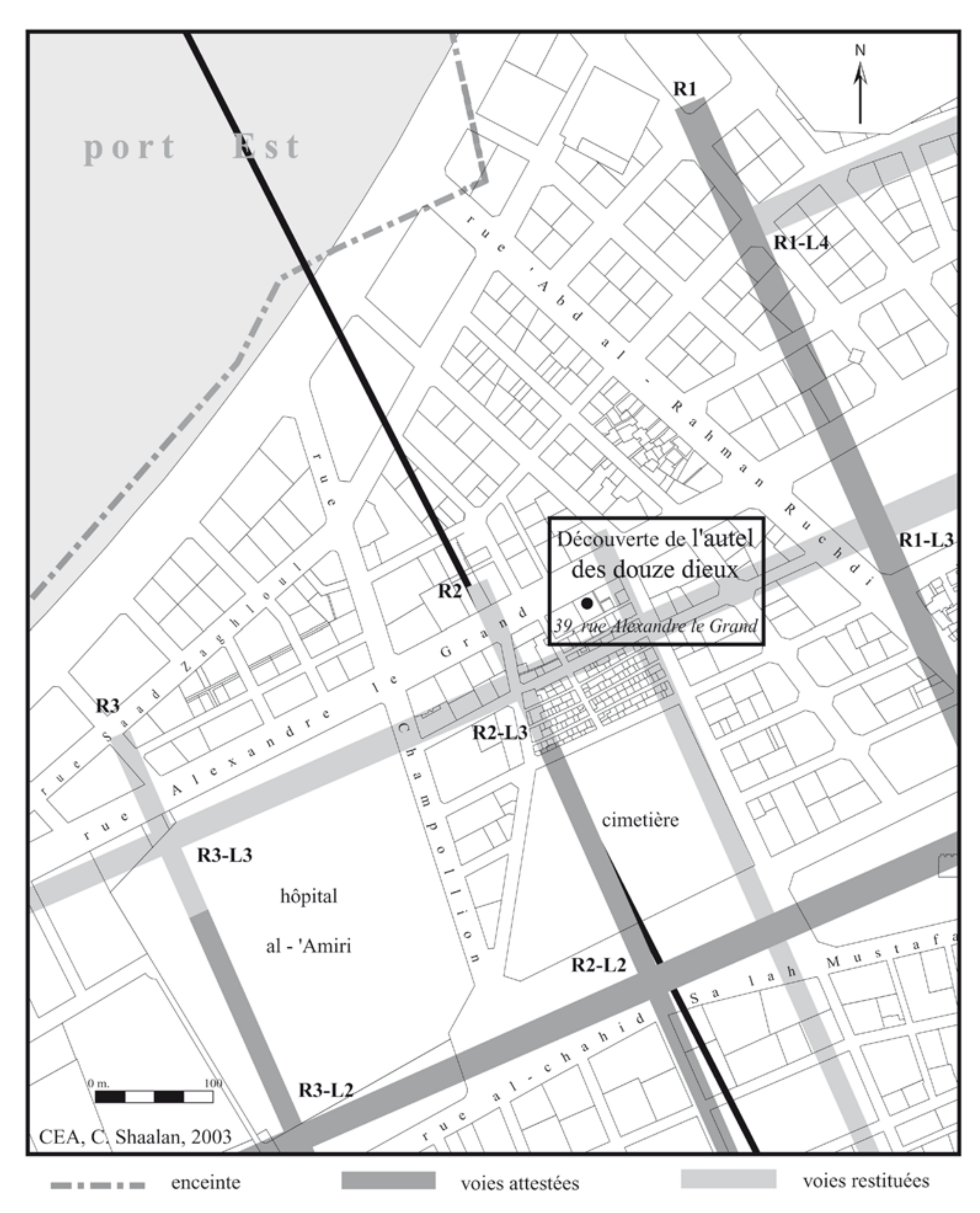


Fig. 6. Falaki's street grid (1866) over a cadastral plan, indicating the presumed site of the altar at n° 39, rue Alexandre le Grand. CEA, plan Cécile Shaalan.



Fig. 1. Pot, provenance Beni Mazar. Archaeological Museum of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, registry number 599.



Fig. 2. Wax figurines: jackal crouching on a woman, provenance Beni Mazar. Archaeological Museum of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, register number 600.



Fig. 3. The woman's legs and hands tied behind her back.



Fig. 4. A deliberate cavity in the woman's abdomen.



Fig. 5. Wax figurines: jackal pouncing upon man, devouring his neck, provenance Beni Mazar. Archaeological Museum of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, register number 601.



Fig. 6. Clay figurine in the Louvre Museum dated to the third century CE.



Fig. 7. Mummy pierced with three pins in head, represented with feet to left on the obverse of a black and red banded jasper.



Fig. 8. Reverse bears a similar mummy with feet represented to right.



Fig. 9. Reverse, amulet of red jasper, a headless and handless man depicted standing in a frontal pose, wearing a kilt and a boot.



Fig. 10. Obverse, a cock-headed anguipede represented with a whip in his right hand and a shield in his left, with inscription.

CHAPTER TWO

EGYPTIAN ELITE SELF-PRESENTATION IN THE CONTEXT OF PTOLEMAIC RULE*

John Baines

Introduction

During the Ptolemaic period, the indigenous elite of Egypt engaged with Hellenistic culture and rule on many levels. Unlike their Persian predecessors, the Ptolemies governed a state and empire that had Egypt as its core. They were accepted far more positively than the Persians, and they were active, together with indigenous elites, in promoting traditional culture, notably through their extensive programs of temple building. Nonetheless, at the core of the state most high officials were Hellenistic in identity, while the kings also asserted their status abroad in the Mediterranean world in terms of their Hellenic culture.

Much more research on Ptolemaic ideology has been conducted by Classicists than Egyptologists, while the indigenous Egyptian elite has not often been studied in relation to the sociopolitical context of the time. Yet an understanding of the ongoing engagement of rulers and the indigenous elite is vital for the interpretation of the period. It is desirable to move toward integrating Hellenistic and Egyptian perspectives, as well as different strands of source material.

* I am most grateful to William Harris for inviting me to participate in the Alexandria conference. I should like to thank Martina Minas, Richard Parkinson, Dorothy Thompson, Terry Wilfong, and especially Geoff Emberling for comments on drafts. I also learned much from discussion after a preliminary presentation at the University of Virginia, kindly organized by Elizabeth Meyers. Elizabeth Frood, Csába La'da, Lisa Leahy, Judith McKenzie, Susanne Nakaten, and Christiane Zivie-Coche generously helped me with bibliography. Elisabeth Delange most kindly arranged for photographs of objects in the Louvre. The text of this article was composed while I was a visitor at the Institute for the Humanities of the University of Michigan, to which I am very grateful for providing a wonderful and stimulating working environment.

Ptolemaic Egypt raises issues that are equally vital for the study of indigenous elites under foreign rule in many civilizations and periods, while the long timespans available for study offer the chance to view the formation and change of ethnic and cultural identities. Recent advances, notably in the dating of statuary and identification of clear cases of complex ethnic identity, render it possible to analyze some of these issues with more precision than hitherto. In this article I study only the small indigenous elite of Egypt, who in some ways felt the impact of Ptolemaic rule most directly and had most to gain from accommodating to it. The evidence I use is artistic and literary, and must be interpreted first in terms of its conventions and genres.

Self-Presentation

Traditional Egyptian practices of self-presentation, through texts and images in various media and contexts, continued among the indigenous elite throughout the Ptolemaic period. These practices demonstrate that, even though relatively few indigenous Egyptians held high positions at the center of government, the elite maintained their ideological position and sense of self in the new political circumstances of a state ruled from the geographical edge of the country by an immigrant group. Members of that group retained and fostered most of its own, different culture in its capital city, but they also interacted increasingly with the indigenous culture. By contrast, the Roman conquest was followed by a reduction in local autonomy and increased discrimination against those who were culturally non-Greco-Roman. Extended textual self-presentations and large-scale statuary seem almost to have disappeared in the first generation or so of Roman rule. Ptolemaic self-presentations developed significantly. While retaining most of the characteristics of their forerunners, they built upon them to create new styles of composition that responded to changed circumstances, in addition to enhancing the aesthetic and expressive qualities of their genres for their own sake.

I term these practices 'self-presentation,' rather than the more traditional 'biography' or 'autobiography,'[1] both because they encom-

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[1] Classic study for this period: Otto 1954.

passed visual media at least as much as textual ones and because the visual and the textual existed in a social context that must have included ceremonies and performances in which a person's self was presented. The audience for those presentations included peers and—in terms of the declared purpose of the artifacts—deities, the next world, and posterity. Scholars have tended to study the visual and verbal components of self-presentations separately, while the visual was too often seen almost in isolation from its social context.[2] The visual aspect, however, was socially salient, not just because far more people could see the works than could read the inscriptions, but also because visual forms, notably statuary, were the context in which the texts were set.[3] The texts were often in positions in which they could not have been read, for example because they were on the back pillars of statues that were set up in crowded conditions. Their scale was generally not large, so that they could not be deciphered from a distance. To read the texts often involves crouching at ground level; their disposition does not suggest that the prime aim of placing them on statues, in particular, was that they be read. The texts were necessary to a work as an entity—which was not the case, for example, with temples[4]—but their realization for an audience must have involved different forms from those which preserve them. To say this is not to devalue the inscribed texts, some of which are of extraordinary complexity and finesse, but to say that they should not be seen as simply autonomous and intended primarily to convey information. Rather, they are the end products of a range of practices that included intense peer interest in and expertise expended on their creation, as well as perhaps a public presentation of their content at the time when they were installed—something that is easy to envisage for texts relating to tombs but is unknown in detail for statues and stelae set up in temples. The act of composition was part of the self-presentation.

The self-presentations are significant for assessing how far the Egyptian elite accommodated culturally to Ptolemaic rule, and conversely how far Hellenistic elites adopted indigenous practices. They

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[2] E.g. Bothmer 1969; less marked in Bothmer 1996.

[3] Compare Briant (2000, 109) on the statue of Darius from Susa in its hypothetical original Egyptian setting.

[4] See e.g. Traunecker 1991.

also raise the more basic questions of how far such a polarity of perspectives is meaningful and how far the interplay of power, culture, and ethnicity[5] developed in less schematic ways. Papyrologists and art historians tended in previous years to see a lack of integration, as well as a degree of cultural incomprehension, between ethnic Greek and ethnic Egyptian in Ptolemaic times.[6] On the visual side in particular, interpretations were often not related to the constraints on what could be presented within traditional contexts of temple and tomb, so that the Hellenizing that was observed was not given as much weight as evidence as it should have been. The specific evidence of interactions of role and activities that is increasingly identified was either not known or downplayed. The material also needs to be sited precisely in time. Genres of self-presentation developed substantially during the Ptolemaic period, and first-century works have a distinctively different character from their forerunners, showing more cultural fusion than was normal earlier.

I sketch here some broader issues involved in studying the very rich works of art that provide my main evidence, before exploring significant individual examples. I do not claim to cover a broad corpus. A corpus-based approach might be misleading in some respects, not least because it is very difficult to assess the ethnic character of many works and their protagonists.

Evidence and Context

Many self-presentations survive from the Ptolemaic period—probably at least as many as for any older period—but their preservation is

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[5] I do not attempt to define ethnicity; my usage is intended to be uncontentious. For an excellent summary of issues in archaeology and anthropology, see Emberling 1996.

[6] Bagnall (1981) presented a relatively mild vision along these lines. In a posthumous paper, Peremans (1987) softened his earlier position considerably. The extreme art-historical example is Bianchi's discussion (1988), for which see the criticisms of Maehler (1992); Bianchi (1996) is a little more nuanced. La'da (2003) gives an excellent brief history of discussions; his valuable treatment of ethnicity in the Ptolemaic period seems to me to be a little optimistic in its assumption of a complete lack of discrimination and not always to take into account inherent limitations of the evidence. Because I focus here on indigenous elites, rather than the population in general, my study only partly intersects with his. The same applies to several very useful articles of Willy Clarysse (e.g. 1992). For a valuable discussion from the perspective of religion—but covering a much broader timespan—see Dunand 1999.

very uneven. As earlier, the largest surviving body of material comes from the political backwater of Thebes; with exceptions, this material is more traditionally Egyptian than what is known from farther north.[7] Hardly any comes from the ethnically diverse and newly developed Fayyum. Politically, economically, and in all probability culturally, the Memphite area and the Delta were the dominant regions of the country outside the capital of Alexandria, but almost the only relevant artifacts that survive in significant numbers from the Delta are hardstone statues and stelae. These were probably the most prestigious materials, but far more is likely to have been produced in limestone, as well as wood and perhaps metal. Where conditions of preservation have been exceptional, these have appeared in significant numbers.[8] Limestone was generally recycled for lime or for building projects. While there is no evidence from the Delta for large constructed elite tombs, it is possible that the highly mannered styles on small individual monuments of the fourth century, which could have been developed further with an eye to Hellenistic styles, were taken up in material that is now wholly lost.[9] The only guarantee of survival of anything like a representative sample of a category of objects is that it be made of a material that withstands discarding in a damp environment and that it be difficult to reuse. Some hardstone statues and sarcophagi meet these conditions, and these supply the vast majority of self-presentations; they should not be regarded as typical, and it is not possible to assess the full range of production.

There is a bias in the sources toward the highest levels of the elite, who could afford hardstone statuary. But even for them, the limestone stelae of the high priests of Memphis show how much is lost, because they demonstrate the significance of a different and under-represented genre (see below). These losses are, however, insignificant in comparison with the near-absence of monumental evidence for the Hellenistic elite of the period. If one were to study the two groups purely through their monuments, one would conclude that the indigenous elite was dominant. No one thinks that

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[7] Valuable collection of hitherto unpublished pieces: Jansen-Winkeln 2001. For an exceptional example whose owner bore the Greek name Platon, see n. 64 here.

[8] E.g. Hastings 1997.

[9] Leahy 1988. For a development of this manner in the chapel of the tomb of Petosiris, see n. 36.

was true in reality, and the poor conditions of survival in Alexandria together with the absence of material from Ptolemais in Upper Egypt go a long way toward explaining the contrast with the indigenous elite. Nonetheless, the disparity in sources bears reflecting upon. As Robert Steven Bianchi has observed,[10] one finds Hellenistic monuments adopting indigenous elements, but less often indigenous monuments adopting Hellenistic elements: the attraction of Egyptian visual culture for the immigrant elites is evident, and the basic tendency he describes lasted well into the Roman period. Bianchi's interpretation of the more strictly indigenous material is in part contradictory and does not address some of the detailed developments I discuss, but he points to a weighting of the evidence that is not easily compatible with the older view of the Hellenistic elite as completely dominant in culture as well as power.

The monumental evidence is unevenly distributed over the Ptolemaic period. History books tend to see the third century as the Ptolemaic heyday,[11] but material remains outside of Alexandria concentrate in the second and first centuries. In part this difference may be due to the vagaries of surviving historical texts on the one hand and to long-term results of population increase on the other, but it surely also indicates changes in the elites and in relations between the Alexandrian ruling group and the mostly indigenous chora, or area outside the capital. Although Hellenistic culture continued to expand throughout the country, appreciation of and involvement with indigenous culture seem also to have increased.

An additional bias is that relatively little material is known from the western Delta, the area closest to the capital of Alexandria. The recent finds of stelae and statuary at nearby Herakleion/Thonis include artifacts on a larger scale than is otherwise known for this period or earlier ones and may exemplify what is lost.[12] The objects made known so far are royal, but temples normally contained a mixture of royal and nonroyal monuments. Some nonroyal monuments could have been colossal in scale to match the context, a possibil-

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[10] Principally Bianchi 1988, 1992.

[11] Extreme example: Turner (1984, esp. 167), who saw the decline as beginning under Ptolemy II; Bowman (1996) has a much more nuanced treatment.

[12] See Yoyotte 2001, 2002; http://www.underwaterdiscovery.org/english/projects/aboukir/mission/mission_01.asp.

ity that is supported by the appreciable numbers of surviving lifesize, over-lifesize, and colossal nonroyal statues of the Ptolemaic period, from Naukratis[13] and Tanis, as well as probably Sais, in addition to unprovenanced examples.[14]

Even if one sets aside issues of religious affiliation and commitment to local deities on the part of originally immigrant elites, it would not be surprising that these people should exploit the grandiose and eloquent display media available to those whose self-presentations were installed in indigenous contexts. It is not known whether self-presentations in indigenous style were set up in Alexandria. Since the city had appreciable numbers of Egyptian-style monuments or parts of monuments, there is no absolute reason why this should not have happened, but the absence of specific evidence may suggest that such a practice did not exist. The proposal of Katja Lembke that the over-lifesize statue of Hor son of Tutu was appropriated from Sais and modified to represent a Roman in Alexandria in early Roman times would speak more for a separation in traditions and usages between Alexandria and the chora than for a continuity (see n. 14).

The material was strongly constrained by where it was set up. The indigenous temples, from which the vast majority of statues come, were generally inimical to material with overt non-Egyptian character.[15] There are subtle exceptions among Ptolemaic temples, such as innovations in the design of column capitals,[16] but overall, their structures and decoration used existing indigenous modes. Similarly, a significant merging of indigenous and Hellenistic mortuary practice is not common before the Roman period; even then, some groups retained traditional forms, including inscription in the

[13] Yoyotte 1994–95, 671–3; Borchardt 1911–36, IV, 120–21 no. 1230, pl. 171.

[14] Zivie-Coche 1997, 65 (with valuable listing), 2001; Lembke and Vittmann 1999; Bothmer 1969, no. 131, figs. 327–8; no. 132, frontispiece, figs. 329–31. Colossal statues of nonroyal individuals from earlier periods are extremely rare.

[15] There could have been exceptions among temple equipment in precious materials. Altogether earlier, much of the Middle Kingdom Tod temple treasure was of Syrian workmanship (Bisson de la Roque et al. 1953), while the massive New Kingdom imports for donation to temples may have included objects that were kept as they were rather than recycled as raw materials (Wreszinski 1935, pl. 33a–b illustrates many examples), but one cannot tell from the images whether they were all Egyptian products.

[16] See McKenzie forthcoming.

Egyptian language, into the third century CE.[17] In temples, Greek inscriptions are hardly found, and they are not very common in more clearly mortuary contexts.[18] There may have been regional variation: the Fayyum, for instance, was more heavily Hellenized than other parts of the country. Moreover, the written Egyptian language was resistant to Greek. Whereas Greek affected Coptic deeply, and had presumably long affected spoken Egyptian, the number of Greek words in Egyptian demotic is small,[19] while in hieroglyphic, where writers aspired to maintain the Classical Egyptian defined 1500 years earlier, it is negligible.

For the early Roman period this separation between indigenous and Hellenistic forms is vividly present in the temple complex of Hathor at Dendara. Outside the main entrance are structures in Hellenistic style, while the vista within is dominated by the traditionally styled pronaos of the main temple.[20] The latter has an inscription of 34 CE in Greek on its front facade, but because the temple faces north this can be seen only in the early morning or near sunset. It is in any case almost indecipherable to the unaided eye, being carved at a small scale within the thickness of the top of the cavetto cornice, more than 15 metres above ground. The inscription's presence demonstrates the importance of the Greek-writing state and benefactors, but the manner of its carving shows that their assertion of authority had to be made with extreme reticence. The role of local benefactors is known also from inscriptions in Egyptian on smaller objects from the site and from statuary, the latter in the characteristic indigenous style of the first century BCE.[21]

[17] E.g. Riggs 2002. If authentic, a funerary stela with inscriptions in Egyptian (both hieroglyphic and demotic) and Greek, with the names and titles pointing to the third century BCE, would be a very early example: Wagner 1972, 159–60, pl. XLI.

[18] Albersmeier and Minas (1998) is an early example, presumably third century (said to be from Upper Egypt); stela of 51 BCE: Bianchi 1988, cat. 78 (Louvre E 27113).

[19] For demotic, see Clarysse 1987, Ray 1994. Clarysse lists 94 words, which is a small number in relation to the politically dominant position of Greek. I know of no study of hieroglyphic.

[20] This area is only partly published; see Castel et al. 1984.

[21] The Greek text is later than the period I study here, but there is no evidence for radical change in related attitudes—as against the decline in indigenous elite status—in the couple of generations after 30 BCE. Fully traditional temples continued to be constructed for another century. A.F. Shore (1979) assembled other relevant materials, publishing significant demotic and hieroglyphic dedicatory inscrip-

The strict circumscription of tomb and temple decoration is part of the Egyptian system of pictorial and iconographic decorum. The integrity of the world was defined, among other ways, through the cosmological associations of the system, within which traditional forms were in keeping with proper order.[22] This framework is one probable reason for the maintenance of traditional forms. Comparable ideas in relation to religious practice are expressed, for example, in the 'propaganda text' in the mid-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic Papyrus Jumilhac, which states, freely glossed, that if offerings were not made to the gods and proper forms observed, the order of the Egyptian world—in indigenous perspective the world as such—would be destroyed.[23] Indigenous Egyptian and Hellenistic forms are so different from each other that any nontraditional content which may have been present in monuments in the indigenous style was either so thoroughly transformed for display as to be difficult to identify, or so generalized—as with themes and episodic structures of 'epic' poetry—that its presence or absence cannot be demonstrated conclusively. The question of how far international ideas and trends influenced Egyptian-style works of this period has long been addressed for such genres as demotic instruction texts and narratives,[24] but has proved difficult to answer, and no real consensus has emerged. One might expect that the more strongly constrained forms of what was displayed in tombs and temples would produce still less relevant evidence, but successful identifications show that progress can be made and that the continuity of forms in self-presentations incorporates complex interactions among indigenous Egyptians and people of Hellenistic cultural background.

Beside temples, the other significant context for self-presentations was death. Biographical inscriptions were set up on stelae that were placed in chapels and/or deposited in burials and, still more distinctively, were inscribed on coffins and sarcophagi. Since the last

tions on bronze plaques. The dedicators were mainly local *strategoi* and bearers of the court title *syngenes*: de Meulenaere 1959.

[22] E.g. Baines 1997, 228–35.

[23] Vandier 1961 [n.d.], 129–30 (XVII, 18–XVIII, 15). Several texts express similar themes. Derchain (1990: 25–8) compares the Jumilhac text with passages in the later Hermetica.

[24] Instructions: Lichtheim 1983; narratives: Thissen 1999, with useful survey of related issues.

of these groups could not be read once a burial was completed, their meaning must have been realized socially in relation to the process of preparing the burial, conducting the funeral, and ensuring the protagonist's status in the next life. An understanding along these lines is supported by patterns of occurrence, which include biographical phraseology in funerary liturgies.[25]

Self-presentations on sarcophagi that are relevant to the questions of this article include the mid-second century anthropoid sarcophagus of the chief financial official (dioiketes) Dioskourides, which is entirely Egyptian in appearance (figure 1).[26] Dioskourides' mother had the Egyptian name Taimhotep (Taimuthes); his father's name is unknown, but one would surmise that it was Greek. The biographical text on the sarcophagus chest is linguistically poor, but in general appearance it is as Egyptian as the rest of the decoration and texts (the orthography of which is also defective). Obvious and perhaps complementary explanations for this discrepancy are that Dioskourides could not read Egyptian and so was happy with a less than perfect formulation, and that the content was rather new for whoever composed the text. The former is more plausible, because inept composition cannot by itself account for the oddities in the text, and at that date few people of any ethnic background commanded Classical Egyptian in hieroglyphs.

Despite Dioskourides' strongly displayed Egyptianness, the relief figures of him in the scenes on the sarcophagus lid have the non-Egyptian detail of a headband (figure 2); moreover, this is not horizontal on the head but slopes from the front to back of the head in the Hellenistic manner.[27] He also has age-lines between the nose and the mouth; such individualizing features are rare in relief, especially in vignette-like scenes of this type, and they contrast strongly with the schematic colossal sarcophagus face. Thus, Dioskourides ultimately

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[25] Baines 1992, 252–3 with nn. 28–9; Lichtheim 1980, 54–8; Yoyotte 1994–95, 677–8.

[26] Collombert 2000; headband visible p. 63, fig. VII. I am grateful to Dorothy Thompson for elucidating this feature to me. Collection of material on Dioskourides: Duttenhöfer 2002, 24, no. 24. No provenance is known for the sarcophagus, but Saqqara seems likely.

[27] I return to this treatment below. The sloping headband is present on the marginally Hellenizing reliefs of offering bearers in the inner part of the tomb of Petosiris (Lefebvre 1923–24, pl. XLIX), but is not generally found on major traditional figures or in statuary.

preserved a non-Egyptian element in his mortuary self-presentation—one paralleled in Greco-Egyptian mortuary texts from Edfu[28] and in statues of the late Ptolemaic period that I mention below. The headband signified the title syngenes '(royal) kinsman,' also known in the Egyptian form *sn-njswt*, which was borne by many later Ptolemaic officials. This title probably was accepted into the Egyptian-language repertory and indigenous iconography because it was salient in the Ptolemaic hierarchy and it used an idiom comparable to the ancient *jrj-pꜥt* 'member of the pat' and *smr-wꜥtj* 'sole companion,' which evoked fictitious kinship and social proximity to the king.

The case of Dioskourides suggests that some members of the ruling elite who held central governmental positions and were onomastically Hellenistic wished to have burials that were almost wholly Egyptian in character. One could say that they were ethnically Egyptian in death, whatever ethnicity they may have presented in their daily lives. The exceptional character of his inscription could suggest that such transformations were not common, but if someone both had a perfectly executed Egyptian-style monument and took an Egyptian name in death, or used a regular Egyptian alternate for his Greek name, it might be impossible now to identify what he did. Other completely 'Egyptian' sarcophagi may therefore have contained the mummies of people who had played a largely 'Hellenic' role in life.[29]

The ethnic manœuvre—as it might be termed—that can be identified on the sarcophagus would presumably have had a more salient counterpart in the funerary process. The holder of one of the country's highest administrative positions would merge with the indigenous elite in his funerary preparations, funeral, and burial, which may have included a public declamation corresponding to the textual self-presentation, in addition to the deposition of the very heavy sarcophagus and other rituals. He probably planned this in advance, because a fully decorated hardstone sarcophagus could not be made in the normal interval between death and burial. The mummification and other rituals would display his ultimate ethnic/cultural allegiance

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[28] Yoyotte 1969, 129, 139.

[29] Clarysse (2000, 56) suggests that Dioskourides was not exceptional but 'un cas tout à fait banal.' While his argument is logical, the numbers of dioiketes and owners of large basalt sarcophagi were so small, and they invested such resources in their monuments, that there was probably more at stake than routine.

to his peers, whose culture might range between Hellenistic and indigenous Egyptian.

Iconographic and Ideological Constraints

In his self-presentation, someone like Dioskourides faced the constraints of Egyptian decorum mentioned above. Moreover, there was hardly any indigenous framework for depicting foreigners in positions other than subjection. The rather broader conventions of the New Kingdom had been replaced by more restrictive ones in the Late Period. By Ptolemaic times the flexibility in mortuary commemoration visible, for example, in Carian and some Persian stelae[30] had more or less vanished. There had come to be no idiom of mortuary decoration between completely non-Egyptian and purely Egyptian. What was true of tombs was still more the case in temples, from which most known Ptolemaic self-presentations come.

The accommodations to Hellenistic rule and culture that occurred during the Ptolemaic period should be seen in relation to these strong constraints and to the possibility that non-indigenous content was transformed to a point where its distinct character is invisible to us. Temple self-presentations are socially and culturally self-sufficient. Texts are mostly formulated in terms of what their protagonists did themselves, and the ruler is seldom mentioned by name or by titulary, which makes dating difficult. The protagonist's actions often relate closely to the local deity, who renders the actions possible and is the beneficiary of much of what is done. This interaction of the deity with the subject of the self-presentation—mostly people holding priestly positions—bypasses the formal role of the king as the intermediary between humanity and the gods. That role, however, was maintained in the formal content of temple reliefs, which show priests only in marginal contexts. The statues were set up in close proximity to the reliefs, so that two styles of message coexisted directly.

The omission of mentions of the king just described and the appropriation of active roles to nonroyal protagonists had been charac-

[30] E.g. Masson et al. 1978, pls. I–V (Carian); Bissing 1930, Mathieson et al. 1995 (Persian); Parlasca 1972, pl. 5 (two examples, one stylistically archaic Greek and comparable with Masson no. 3, and the other Persian).

teristic of personal monuments for much of the first millennium. Earlier, these strategies fitted the realities of decentralized power and prominence of the temples, but at least in terms of power, that was generally not the position in Ptolemaic times. Rather, the temples, while sponsored by a powerful, centralized state, were also the principal forum for display of self-presentations that were not necessarily centripetal. State patronage did not affect people's desire and ability to express their autonomy, which they formulated primarily through religious values. That autonomy was also cultural. While the Ptolemies were accepted as rulers, they were not necessarily the focus of elite values and sense of self; these generally related more to the local divine and human community.[31] The main question to investigate here is how those who created these self-presentations formulated their identity.

The Monuments

I review briefly three groups of material, primarily for visual features, in ways that I hope are complementary to textual and historical studies that increasingly address related questions.[32]

1. *The tomb of Petosiris and possible successors*

The earliest relevant monument, the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel west of Hermopolis, exhibits a significant negotiation between Egyptian and Hellenistic forms.[33] The monument is generally dated around 320, but Susanne Nakaten has proposed a slightly later dating.[34] The tomb is noted especially for the decoration of its transverse entrance hall, which is in a fusion of Egyptian and Hellenistic

[31] On the cults of the deified Ptolemies in indigenous temples and among the wider population, see Winter 1978; Quaegebeur 1989; Albersmeier and Minas 1998.

[32] E.g. Lanciers 1991; Heinen 1996; Vittmann 1998; Clarysse 2000.

[33] Lefebvre 1923–24, pls. VII–XV; much illustration and detailed discussion, but no later synthesis. Lefebvre, Otto (1954, 174–84 no. 46), and Lichtheim (1980, 44–54) translated the biographical texts.

[34] Published only in summary: Nakaten 1982. Nakaten (personal communication) has kindly explained her interpretation to me in more detail; her approach centers on the possible audience for the Hellenizing decoration. The argument of Kessler (1998, 131–2), who dates the tomb to the end of the reign of Ptolemy I, is problematic.

manners of decoration—encompassing style, rendering of nature, and iconography—that has few parallels (e.g. figure 3). Much of the detail of the scenes belongs to its period, including for example a representation of lathe-turning, a technique that is not attested from dynastic Egypt. In general terms, however, the content is traditional or archaizing, since it shows scenes of agriculture and craft whose genres go back to the third millennium and had more recent parallels in Late Period tombs, especially in the Theban area.[35] By contrast, the main registers in the inner parts of the tomb (Lefebvre's 'chapel'), which include the biographical inscriptions, are decorated in purely Egyptian style (e.g. figure 4).[36] This distinction of manner in outer and inner areas is comparable with that mentioned above for the much later monuments at the entrance to the Dendara temple complex (see n. 20).

Petosiris' main biographical texts, which are placed in the mouths of a number of members of his family, mention the reign of a foreign ruler and concomitant turmoil in the land (not ascribed directly to that ruler). Their principal purpose is to present the almost royal role of Petosiris himself as a restorer and builder of monuments in his nome. Mentions of foreign rule and turmoil had probably already become topoi, since they are found in texts of the Persian period and the fourth century;[37] this means that it is difficult to use them to date the tomb. Philippe Derchain has discovered close parallels for a maxim in these texts among Hellenistic Greek literary texts and inscriptions from Egypt.[38] It is therefore likely that Petosiris' Hellenizing was not limited to pictorial representation, but because the Greek texts are later than the tomb, precise interpretation is

[35] There is no synthesis of this material.

[36] The lowest register in the chapel wall shows offering bearers, whose poses and scanty clothing mark them as conventionalized and fictionalized, in extravagant iconographies developed from the indigenous fourth century tradition (Leahy 1988), with perhaps some slight Hellenizing features. These, too, would have been seen as indigenous, but in a relatively secular mode.

[37] Udjahorresne (presumably from Sais; Baines 1996, with bibliography); Wennefer (Saqqara; von Kaenel 1980); son of Nectanebo II (Clère 1951); by implication the Satrap Stela, both in its mention of the return of statues of deities from Asia and in some omissions of mention of the Persians, except "Xerxes" = Artaxerxes III (Sethe 1904, 14, ll. 9–11; 16–18, with reference to the anti-Persian king Khababash; new translation by R.K. Ritner, in Simpson 2003, 393).

[38] Derchain 2000, 32–3, 54–7.

difficult. The sentiments involved are not 'secular,' and so occur appropriately in the inner part of the tomb.

The tomb of Petosiris is generally seen as unique, but there is no good reason to think that this was the case.[39] A few isolated limestone reliefs offer more or less close stylistic parallels for the outer areas,[40] while the roughly contemporaneous nearby tomb of Petekakem at Tuna is similar in ground plan, but only the bottom courses of its structure survive.[41] The most economical assumption is that its decoration would have been comparable with that of Petosiris. What makes the tomb of Petosiris exceptional is that it became a sacred site and burial vault for local people[42]—for reasons that cannot now be established—and so was preserved from reuse of its stone. Monuments of similar character will not have been widespread, but it would be unwise to accept chance preservation at face value and assume that the one that is known was unique. Other early Ptolemaic inscriptions discussed by Derchain (2000)[43] point in the same general direction, but because the interaction between Egyptian and Hellenistic, mainly in their protagonists' career paths, but also in their ethnic background, is expressed in their texts, their impact is not visually salient and they have only recently entered the discussion. Like the sarcophagus of Dioskourides, they are significant in showing that people of high status could engage in milieux where different occupations and ethnicities were dominant at different stages in their life and death; they are also more than a century earlier than Dioskourides (see also 2 below).

Thus, from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period onward, dual self-presentations by nonroyal members of the various elites on their

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[39] I am not persuaded by Nakaten's argument (1982) that it was created as a shrine for his self-deification, which would make it altogether exceptional.

[40] Bianchi 1988, no. 128 (plausibly dated to the late fourth/early third century; Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 2244); Vercoutter 1952, pl. IX: 1–3 (Tod, from blocks of fill; not mentioned explicitly in text).

[41] Gabra 1941, 11–27.

[42] Lefebvre 1923–24, 21–9; his negative judgment of the reuse as a burial site is inappropriate.

[43] Alan B. Lloyd (2002) makes some of the same points independently, arguing plausibly that the traditional Egyptian elite continued to play major roles in provincial affairs and, in the case of his Senenshepsu, Derchain's Senoucheri, whose inscriptions are edited by Derchain (2000, 22–31, 44–53), at court in Alexandria. Senoucheri/Senenshepsu's father had the Greek name Iason (Derchain 2000, 22 with nn. 33–4). For the dating of some of the statues discussed by Lloyd, the more nuanced discussion of Zivie-Coche (1997, 67–70) should be compared.

monuments—and dual or complex ethnic identities onto which monuments offer only a limited window—may have been less exceptional than has often been assumed. For the next world, the tomb of Petosiris visually compartmentalizes the indigenous and the Hellenizing, and privileges the former. At the much smaller scale of what could be placed on a statue or a sarcophagus, a similar separation was not possible, so that the expression of these matters was necessarily less discrete, and probably subtler.

It happens that few monuments relevant to the questions I am addressing have been noted from the later third and early second centuries. Because examples are difficult to identify and often to date, this gap may not be meaningful. It does, however, seem that from the reign of Ptolemy VIII onward the commitment of the rulers to indigenous forms increased—at least as measured by extant temple construction in their names—and signs of political and cultural interchange become more frequent.[44]

Egyptologists have tended to see some of these developments, such as the crystallization of rules for organizing registers of decoration in indigenous temple relief, as having occurred in the provincial south.[45] This seems implausible to me, and Jean Yoyotte has produced specific but necessarily indirect arguments for a northern origin.[46] Although it is impossible to say how far the regime in Alexandria was involved in these matters, for which all the expertise came from the indigenous elite, it was probably the regime that supplied the means to create and decorate the temples, presumably working through the intellectual centres in Memphis—notably its high-priestly group (see section 3 below for one of them)—and in the Delta. The absence of relevant material from the north is accounted for by the complete destruction of almost all temples there.

Another northern connection on which I do not focus is with Alexandria itself (see also section 3 below). The late second and first

[44] See already Bagnall (1981).

[45] Erich Winter (1968, part 1) discovered the rules and attributed their origin to Edfu.

[46] See Baines (1997, 232–3) for hypothetical arguments. Yoyotte (1993–94, 684–9) shows that the related economic processions in the base areas of temple relief were formulated in Lower Egypt by the time of Ptolemy I–II, but their definitive form did not appear in Upper Egypt until the late second and first centuries. Comparable material is not preserved from upper registers, but is likely to follow the same pattern.

centuries are the most plausible dates of the tombs on Pharos Island that include Egyptianizing features, unlike earlier tombs discovered elsewhere in the city.[47] The agreement in date with increased Hellenistic influence on indigenous monuments outside the capital is unlikely to be coincidental. It is, however, difficult to compare the two groups, because the indigenous monuments temper the ancient style a little toward the Hellenistic, while the Alexandrian tombs move only a small way toward indigenous styles, so that the gulf between the two is great. Moreover, there are virtually no indigenous monumental tombs outside the capital that could be compared directly with those on Pharos Island; a comparison with temple architecture is necessarily indirect.

2. *Statuary: iconography and representational form*

In the later Ptolemaic period, statuary seems to show the most radical development among artistic genres. The forms that come together in that period, however, have several centuries of relatively direct antecedents in two and three dimensions (relief and statuary, as well as likely lost material in painting and other media). The late Ptolemaic works synthesize some new elements with others that acquired contextual meanings which they did not earlier possess.

Before moving to these statues, the colossal granite statue of Haremhab from Naukratis should be mentioned (see n. 13). At 3.6 metres, this is at least twice lifesize and the largest of all nonroyal statues. It belonged to a 'Greek'/'Aegean' (*3w-nbw*, see 3 below) named Haremhab—or Armais, as he may have been in everyday life—who was the son of a presumably Greek father (his name *3qrds/q3rds/qr3ds* is of uncertain identification but Greek appearance) and an Egyptian mother. Yoyotte dates the statue to the late fourth or third century. It is in the generic, idealizing manner that was current for several centuries and cannot be closely dated, but it is unlikely to be as late as the rest of the material I discuss in this section, and it is in entirely traditional Egyptian style. What is striking is that it

[47] Venit 2002, 68–95. Some of Venit's identifications seem uncertain to me, but the general thrust of her analysis can hardly be questioned. On burial practices in Alexandria, the adoption of mummification, and the assimilation of different traditions, see also Dunand 2002.

was set up by someone who was a self-identified Greek—despite his Egyptian name—earlier than any monument I review except for the tomb of Petosiris. The work may be indicative of how the gap between Petosiris and the later evidence could be closed. The statue came from the indigenous Egyptian temple complex at Naukratis, and its scale suggests that the temple there was of comparable grandeur.[48] In his titles, Haremhab claimed only a straightforward priesthood, yet he must have possessed great wealth. In view of the reticence with which the Late Period and Ptolemaic elite displayed 'secular' activities in their self-presentations in temples, one could speculate that at Naukratis his wealth came from trade, an activity that did not carry great public cachet in any period.

The idealizing form of the statue of Haremhab is one of a number of bodily treatments that were current in the Ptolemaic period. Two others that appeared or were revived in the 25th dynasty and later (from ca. 730) were representations of age, fatness, and bodily imperfection; and complex, multilayered garments. These were shown principally on nonroyal figures but also, memorably, in the facial treatment on a relief of Nectanebo I on the 'intercolumnar slab' from Heliopolis that shows him performing the cult for the sun god,[49] and later on the faces, but not the bodies, of one or two Ptolemaic royal heads that are within indigenous conventions.[50] The multilayered garment sets are known first from tomb reliefs.[51] Essentially the same form appears later on figures of the king who is being introduced into the temple, whereas standard scenes show him in scantier clothing, implying that the full set belongs at least partly in the outside world rather than the sanctified temple interior.[52] There can be connections between the treatment of face, body, and garments,

[48] For the complex, see Yoyotte 1994–95, 680–2; 1993–94, 688–9. Derchain (2000, 20, 42–3 with translation) suggests that the statue inscription of Haremhab was copied from an older source on another statue and that Haremhab himself might have lived in the 4th century. In that case, the use of a purely Egyptian iconography by someone whose inscription declared him to be Greek would have still earlier forerunners.

[49] Russmann 2001, 244–7 no. 134.

[50] Notably Kyrieleis 1975, no. G2.

[51] Leahy 1988.

[52] There is no satisfactory publication on the heavier royal garment set, whose occurrence in temples is treated by Angélique Corthals (2004, publication in preparation); the general oral discussion reported in Bianchi (1978) is not relevant because it does not address this specific set (I have not seen Bianchi's doctoral dissertation,

but each element can also convey meaning independently. The effect of these changes was therefore to diversify modes of expression, with treatments such as an aged face on an idealizing body being relatively common. Indigenous Egyptian conventions had always offered this possibility, which those schooled in the western tradition have often seen as discordant. A separable iconographic and representational vocabulary may have been exploited as advantageous, as it was in Roman far more than Hellenistic art.[53] In considering the interplay of the indigenous and the Hellenistic, one might ask whether this vocabulary offered analogies for complex treatments in other cultural domains, since these would allow the expression of elements that would otherwise fall outside limits of decorum. It may not be possible to answer such questions.

During the Ptolemaic period these garment sets came to be shown on temple statuary. There are detailed variations, including carefully rendered fringe types—attested already from the fourth century—that probably conveyed specific meanings. Whereas traditional Egyptian garments were mostly symmetrical, the sets are often markedly asymmetrical, in treatments that develop the style from its pre-Ptolemaic antecedents[54] but also have generalized parallels in the classical world. This is a case where an indigenous development was in keeping with comparable conventions from outside. Other details, such as an undergarment with a round neck rather than a vertical opening in the middle, also have few antecedents in Egypt. These features might seem minor individually, but as a group they develop older conventions significantly. The precise antecedents for these elements are less important than the fact that there were such innovations and combinations, which could have been internal Egyptian changes or could have responded to Hellenistic forms, either by adopting them or by adapting existing Egyptian conventions.[55] The garments also

of which the article is in part a summary). The scantier garments are traditional, and almost universal in temple relief. The garment sets occur both in a few scene types in temple relief and occasionally on stelae, e.g., Kamal 1904–05, pl. LIX, CG 22186; Albersmeier and Minas 1998, 20 fig. 5; Walker and Higgs 2001, no. 56, London BM EA 1054.

[53] I am grateful to Natalie Kampen for pointing this out to me.

[54] E.g., Bothmer 1969, no. 74, figs. 181–4 (4th century).

[55] The study of Bianchi (1978) is problematic here, because it seeks antecedents, however remote and inaccessible they may have been in Ptolemaic times, rather than asking about the ensemble and how it relates to its context.

often go together with corpulent body forms and with marks of age, typically a lined forehead. Among late examples, 'natural' hair is common. This last element is the most distinctive, because it has no close parallel among earlier or contemporaneous Egyptian conventions.[56] Here, Werner Kaiser's study of the dating of heads with marks of age is significant in showing that these numerous works cluster in the later second and first centuries.[57] A significant group of these statues that also have the nontraditional headband comes from Dendara and is broadly contemporaneous with the construction of the temples of Hathor and Isis there from the reign of Ptolemy XII on.[58]

The bodily treatment of late Ptolemaic nonroyal statuary remains within traditional Egyptian conventions, but these iconographic elements are new.[59] Some of these statues are also over-lifesize, and thus hardly paralleled before the Ptolemaic period (see nn. 13, 14); other elements in them also depart from older practice. The known examples appear strongly innovative, building on earlier works that were also outside existing conventions.[60] Because so much is lost, they should be seen as samples, not as the particular works in which such innovations were made. Their fairly well established dating nonetheless suggests that the principal developments were in the late second and first centuries. Among these changes are figures presenting images of deities and grasping them in a more immediate and vivid style than had been normal,[61] or having an image attached to the body almost as a talisman. A standing statue of Panemerit of Tanis presenting a stela appears to have its weight on the forward foot, in a radical yet subtle departure from convention.[62] Another of

[56] Bothmer 1996.

[57] Kaiser 1999. For iconography and bodily form, B.H. Stricker's collection of material (1959, 1960) remains valuable.

[58] Gathered by Shore 1979; Abdalla 1994; W.H. Peck in Walker and Higgs 2001, no. 189. See also Bianchi 1978.

[59] Stefan Schmidt's introductory essay (1997) gives a convenient synthesis on the 'portraiture' of these pieces.

[60] E.g., a highly asymmetrical Late Period statue of a musician from Tanis: Zivie-Coche 1998; Christiane Zivie-Coche is preparing the publication of additional unusual Ptolemaic statuary from Tanis.

[61] Notably Djeho son of Wennofer (Zivie-Coche 1997, pl. 6; precise date uncertain). The position of the figures of deities well below waist level, and their small scale in relation to the colossal statue, render the pose the more striking. The statue is also rare in not having the left foot advanced.

[62] Zivie-Coche 2001, 358 fig. 6. This point is uncertain because the photograph

his statues, which is slightly over-lifesize, more significantly retains the traditional axial organization but has the arms freed from the matrix, in a treatment that has no parallel in nonroyal hardstone statuary (figure 5).[63] The obvious stimulus to suggest for this feature is in Hellenistic statuary, where the treatment was common, although the stone was outside the normal Hellenistic range. It is difficult to say what the intent of such an innovation may have been. Despite its discreet appearance, it is one of the most radical changes to be found anywhere, because it affects representational mode as well as style. A desire to exhibit mastery for its own sake should not be excluded, but exploitation of treatments that had long been common outside the indigenous tradition is plausible. I do not believe that 'realism' should be invoked: these features hardly affect the statue's heavily stylized character.

Comparable tendencies are visible, but in less marked forms, in quite numerous statues of similar date that have the more recent garment set, as well as various treatments of natural hair, headdress, and hairbands.[64] A number of these statues also have an arm pose

of the statue suggests that the restoration of the area of the thigh could be problematic. The back pillar leans forward in the photograph; ideally it would be vertical, but there are exceptions. I am grateful to Christiane Zivie-Coche for showing me additional photographs of this piece.

[63] Zivie-Coche 2001, 366, 370–1 figs. 12–3 (does not think the freed arms show Hellenistic influence). The pose is difficult to visualize from photographs because the right arm is lost above the wrist and the left at the elbow. The arms were held in a gesture of protection above and below the small figure of a deity attached to the torso around waist level. The upper arm was supported by a bridge to the top of the chest, but must have been held some way forward of the torso. Freeing of arms is not unprecedented and occurs, for example, on some Old Kingdom scribe statues, but I know no other nonroyal hardstone statue on which the full length of the arms was freed. A fragmentary complex granite group of two deities blessing the crown of the king (originally perhaps Amenhotep III) shows that freeing of arms and legs was technically possible from much earlier: Seidel 1996, Dok. 72, pl. 40 (more than two thirds restored).

[64] E.g., the *syngenes* Aristonikos of Tabener in the west-central Delta (Guermeur 2000, pl. XIII); numerous statues from Dendara (e.g., Abdalla 1994); Edfu (e.g., Walker and Higgs 2001, 138 fig. 3.3, falcon protecting king?). Treatments seem to have varied across the country. The Karnak cachette, which dated to around this period, contained relatively few statues that exhibit the traits discussed here (see e.g., Jansen-Winkeln 2001), but the identification of a statue of a *syngenes* and kinsman of a strategos with the Greek name Platon shows that cultural identities could be as complex in Thebes as elsewhere: Coulon 2001. This statue (head missing) has the garment set and pose I discuss here, with the addition of a traditionalizing Hathor/Bat head emblem on the chest, a feature that has antecedents going

with the left hand clasped to the lower abdomen, holding the garment or emblem, or simply positioned there, for which there is little clear precedent. A distinctive technical feature is the surface finish, which is often less highly polished than is common in Egyptian-style statuary of the period. The significance of this is difficult to evaluate, because completed statues were generally painted and the surface might in the end have been invisible.

These late Ptolemaic works build on existing inventive trends to display self-assurance and innovation among those who presented themselves within the decorum of indigenous temples. What it was possible to display in those temples had changed significantly. There may have been more culturally hybrid works in the outermost parts of temples than in their inner areas, in part mediating between the diverse, less sacred world outside and the highly constrained one within.

Scholars have tended to see these developments as showing that the Hellenistic environment exerted pressure on indigenous practice, but have not related that pressure to the identities of those commissioning the statues. Most protagonists used Egyptian names in the texts on their statues. Those names might have been chosen because in the temple they were more fitting than Greek names. As with the second century Edfu elites studied by Yoyotte,[65] whose pairs of funerary stelae bore parallel, only partly intersecting self-presentations in Egyptian and Greek, I doubt whether it is meaningful to seek a single 'ethnicity' for these people. They presented themselves in the temples in as mixed a form as decorum allowed, and their roles outside the temple are only very partially illuminated by what is found within them. Since the Late Period, those who dedicated statues and stelae in the temples had tended to inscribe them with titularies appropriate to the temple context and to say relatively little about their roles in the world outside—again probably in part for reasons of decorum. Prosopographic evidence shows that significant numbers of people had such complex roles.[66]

back to the Old Kingdom and is rare on first millennium works; see Coulon, 87 with n. 16, citing one Ptolemaic parallel.

[65] See n. 28; this material is studied again by Derchain-Urtel (1989). Compare also Dunand 1999, 100–02.

[66] Vittmann (1998, e.g. pp. 1240–1 with n. 69, 1249) collects valuable examples, but his discussion may retain a little the habit of seeing people as either Egyptian

The visual transformations in some late Ptolemaic indigenous statuary are thus more radical than any known from earlier. They remain within Egyptian tradition, developing new forms influenced by other traditions, but not becoming hybrids. Their owners may have moved into and out of 'Egyptian' and 'Greek' contexts, languages, and identities with the ease of multiethnic and multicultural elites in many societies throughout the world, including twentieth century CE Egypt. Whereas lower down the social scale there were ethnic designations that organized people,[67] and some ethnic separation, it seems unlikely that this was true at the highest social levels, although the absence of any non-Greek names among priests of the dynastic cult may show that some boundaries could not be crossed.[68]

The developments in statuary were stifled by the Roman conquest of Egypt, after which modest works of a different character were made for a generation or two.[69] The hieroglyphic epigraphy available to the latest Ptolemaic statue owners seems to have been in decline, but that decline was limited, because hieroglyphs in general flourished and developed further in the principal temples for the next two centuries. It will be wise to avoid hindsight and to accept that people who presented themselves so extravagantly in statuary did not see themselves as belonging to a 'dying' culture. The changes in the iconography and representational treatment created a radical synthesis, alongside other valid forms that continued to be made. The statue owners could not have foreseen that succeeding generations would not have the means to sustain and develop their tradition.

or not. Here, Clarysse (2000) offers a different and more plausible vision, but without citing specific evidence.

[67] Full collection of material: La'da 2002; his discussion is to be published later.

[68] It is conceivable that some holders used Greek names for this purpose and Egyptian ones elsewhere; as members of the elites in Alexandria and Ptolemais, one would nonetheless expect these people to be primarily Hellenistic in culture; see Clarysse et al. 1983; Minas 2000. On cross-cutting identities in an earlier period, see Meskell 1999, 136–215.

[69] This statuary looks back to different, older traditions; see Bianchi 1992. All examples seem to be from the Fayyum and so hardly comparable with most Ptolemaic works; they are not inscribed in hieroglyphs. One example (Bianchi's C-1, reign of Tiberius) is innovative in having an image of a camel on its throne side.

3. *Taimhotep and Psherenptah*

My last example exhibits the different characteristics of a more tenacious maintenance of traditional indigenous forms than the other material I have surveyed, together with great vitality in pictorial forms, text, and hieroglyphic epigraphy. The limestone mortuary stelae of the couple Taimhotep (Taimuthes) and Psherenptah (Psenptais) III (42–41 BCE) presumably come from a mortuary chapel constructed for the two, or for their whole family, in the Saqqara necropolis.[70] The stelae are stated in their texts to have been designed by the same person and can be treated almost as a thematic unity.

Taimhotep's stela has one of the most elaborate of all Egyptian biographical narratives, focused around her role in providing Psherenptah with the male child he had lacked. It ends with a lament about the piteous state of the dead in the next world, which is probably a counter-cultural statement that evokes the license of mourning and funerary laments common in many cultures. The text expresses much that could be paralleled in the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps even specifically in Hellenic culture, but nothing in it has to be related to influence from outside Egypt. It is composed in a perfect and recherché Classical Egyptian that overtly displays its traditional heritage. The text should be set in the context of the scene at the top of the stela, which is logically both prior and subsequent, prior because it is seen first, and subsequent because it signifies the goal toward which the text leads.

The female figures in Taimhotep's scene, both the goddesses and the deceased, have an almost unique rendering of two profile breasts, with the second breast carved within the torso (figure 6, stela of Psherenptah, where the detail is more easily visible). Since thousands of figures of women are known from Egyptian monuments and hardly any are shown in this way, this feature is a radical innovation. It is best attributed to Hellenistic influence, even though the result does

[70] The stelae are dated precisely by their texts. There is no satisfactory publication of this material; Reymond (1981) is inaccurate and offers no interpretation. On the priestly family, see Quaegebeur 1972, 1980, 1989; excellent photographs and recent bibliography on the hieroglyphic stelae: Walker and Higgs 2001, nos. 193, 192; translation of Taimhotep's text: Lichtheim 1980, 59–65. Two demotic stelae with more funerary than biographical texts have not yet been properly edited (Reymond nos. 19, 21).

not look non-Egyptian; and the detail is so small that it passed unnoticed until kindly pointed out by Richard Parkinson.[71] One cannot say whether this was an innovation of Taimhotep's stela or was adopted from an existing model; what is significant is its presence.[72] This development offers a close, slightly later analogy in two-dimensional rendering for the three-dimensional treatment of arms on the statue of Panemerit mentioned above.

The stela of Psherenptah has an equally striking scene that shows its protagonist kneeling before standing figures of eight deities, the last being the emblematic form of the West (figure 6—left part only). In the composition, the rule that the heads of all figures in a register should be on the same level is applied to include headdresses and means that Psherenptah's figure is at a much larger scale than the others and visually dominates the deities. This salience may relate to his role as high priest of Ptah of Memphis, which gave him the leading indigenous role in the country, but probably also conveys something of his sense of self or of what his designer—who was a member of the same extended family as Taimhotep and Psherenptah—attributed to him.

In some respects the biographical text beneath the scene is less highly wrought than that of Taimhotep. It does not have such a clear narrative structure and the only point of adversity that its author could cite to give it a fictionalizing shape was the same one as the core of hers, that Psherenptah did not have a male child until he was 43.[73] The text does, however, have two unique features, both concerning relations between Psherenptah and Ptolemy XII.[74] Unlike the majority of late self-presentations, much of Psherenptah's text focuses on the king, whose names are given in an elaborate titulary with epithets. The text states that he performed the coronation of Ptolemy XII. In the next passage, Psherenptah visits Alexandria to

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[71] It could have become a little more evident in paint, but examination of the stela's surface, which I should like to thank Richard Parkinson and Jeffrey Spencer for arranging, suggests that it never was painted. The same treatment occurs on the stela of Psherenptah, where it is much more clearly visible.

[72] Some less well executed examples are known in other media, perhaps from a later date; see e.g., Schäfer 1974 [1963], 308 fig. 319 with n. 68.

[73] The text is very selective, not mentioning a wife who presumably died before he married Taimhotep and a daughter by her named Khereduankh, who was Taimhotep's contemporary. For genealogy, see Quaegebeur 1980.

[74] The birth of Psherenptah's son is dated later, to year 6 of Cleopatra VII.

attend ceremonies that seem to have followed on the coronation and included the king's appearance on his chariot in a guise that can be imagined for earlier times in Egypt but is never represented in a sacral context.[75] Ptolemy XII then appointed Psherenptah as his own priest and endowed him with offerings or property in temples throughout the country. These actions can be compared with narratives of visits of officials to the capital to receive appointments back as far as the Middle Kingdom.[76]

The wording of the mention of Alexandria also looks back ultimately to Middle Kingdom models. The capital is referred to with an elaborate periphrasis as:

> . . . the Residence (*nw*) of the Aegean (*3w-nbw*) ⌜kings⌝, which is on the shore of the sea (*w3 -wr*) on the west side of the *ʿq3*-district, the name of which is Raqote.

The place Alexandria and actions occurring there are named without compromising traditional linguistic purity, except unavoidably in monarchs' names. The perspective on the rulers' Macedonian origin that is implied by the ancient term *3w-nbw* might be seen as rather ambivalent, but the formulation may have been chosen for reasons of style and tradition. Moreover, occurrences like the self-designation of Haremhab, cited above, do not suggest that the usage was derogatory.[77]

The passage about relations with the king continues and concludes by stating that when the latter visited Memphis during inspections of the country, he stopped with all his retinue at Psherenptah's temple[78]—that of Ptah, or conceivably that of Imhotep, the personal god

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[75] Compare the scenes above the Raphia Decree showing Ptolemy IV on horseback spearing a figure of an enemy: Kamal 1904–05, pl. LXXIV, CG 31088*a*; Thissen 1966, figs. 1–2; Clarysse 2000, 47 fig. 1. High-ranking Egyptians were never shown on horseback.

[76] E.g., Wepwawetaa of Abydos, 12th dynasty: Lichtheim 1988, 79 (translation problematic in places).

[77] On *3w-nbw* in the Ptolemaic period, see Huss 1994, 140–1, with refs., citing reservations over his views on the part of Clarysse and Heinen. It is uncertain whether the very formulaic example Huss cites, in a temple relief of the ritualized slaughter of enemies at Philae, can bear much weight of interpretation (Junker 1958, 30–32, *h*, fig. 13). There, *3w-nbw* as 'Aegean' is the far north, and thus a natural foil for the southern enemies evoked immediately before in the text. The creator of the inscription could be confident that anyone who might be offended by its content could not read it. Since it is a Ptolemy who is said to smash the heads of the *3w-nbw* with his mace, this must mitigate any implied opposition.

[78] See Derchain 1998.

of Psherenptah and his late-born son. While the style of mention of the capital and the order of the narrative create a distance between the place and the traditional world of Psherenptah, and almost correspond to a perception that Alexandria was not in Egypt, the mention of the *ʿq3*–district and a temple visit in Alexandria are not out of keeping with indigenous values.

In this presentation, moreover, there is almost a mutual dependence between Psherenptah and Ptolemy XII. The former legitimized the latter with a coronation narrated earlier in the text. That ritual, which was perhaps a Ptolemaic innovation in Egypt, seems to have taken place in Memphis. More broadly, Psherenptah implies that he was the person who integrated the ruler with traditional culture. In return for these services, Psherenptah received both special privileges and royal visits, of a type for which there are few parallels. Nothing is said of the political turmoil of the first century. Here, hindsight and knowledge of the Roman conquest may color our view excessively: in the same period the confident works of Panemerit and others were created in the Delta. Furthermore, few biographies mention political adversity—here Petosiris is exceptional—so that its absence from Psherenptah's is not distinctive.

The monuments of Taimhotep and Psherenptah are at once vital examples of traditional elite practices and preoccupations, as well as subtle renewals of old forms that incorporated modernizing and Hellenizing features. The public addressed by such compositions was very small, but the actors no doubt saw these choices as significant. They were part of the ongoing symbiosis of Egyptian and Hellenistic culture. That process, which was soon to be severely affected by the Roman conquest, should be seen in relation to its own time rather than from the perspective of the conquest and its aftermath.

Conclusion

The stelae of Taimhotep and Psherenptah, which are among the latest indigenous self-presentations of any distinction,[79] demonstrate

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[79] For the single known outlier from 2nd century CE Akhmim, see Scharff 1927; Derchain 1987, 37–62. This is a far more significant composition than the multilingual building inscriptions of 1st century CE officials at Koptos: Reinach and Weill 1912, Reinach 1914.

aspects of the negotiation of indigenous and Hellenistic identities that are not attested from earlier in the Ptolemaic period, although the statues of Panemerit offer some artistic parallels. Modern interpreters tend to see the matter in terms of such identities, and the purist language of Psherenptah, together with its simultaneous mention and distancing of the Hellenistic kings, may seem favourable to a reading along those lines. It can be contrasted in another medium with the appropriation of the colossal statue of Hor son of Tutu by a Roman (see n. 14), which is an instance of the conquerors' continuing respect for Egyptian forms and what they could signify when suitably adapted, but hardly of respect for the indigenous elite. But whereas one can be reasonably confident that in Alexandria there were ethnic identities, such as Jewish, that had rather little to do with indigenous Egyptian forms, recent identifications, datings, and reattributions suggest that among the upper levels of indigenous and Hellenistic society outside Alexandria, identities were not neatly demarcated. Moreover, different stages of life and social situations could call forth different ethnic affiliations.

This view is based on rather limited evidence. The vast majority of the material produces nothing that is clearly relevant to these questions. Does this mean that those who negotiated their identities in complex ways were a small minority among the elite? It would be unwise to make such an assumption. The earliest monument I discuss, the tomb of Petosiris, shows how indigenous and Hellenistic cultural domains could be kept separate, accepting and valuing the Hellenistic, but characterizing it as 'secular' in terms of indigenous artistic categories. Together with the texts studied by Derchain (2000), Petosiris' tomb establishes an active engagement with Hellenistic modes of expression, values, and milieux from the early Ptolemaic period onward. The statue of the Greek Haremhab shows a similar engagement, but without the same overt cultural signals.

The rest of the monuments I have reviewed are 'sacred' and subject to the constraints of Egyptian decorum, which seems to have changed slightly in the last century of Ptolemaic rule. This material was not conducive to the display of non-unitary cultural identities. The pointers toward them are therefore suggestive of strong pressure for change. That pressure could have been exerted by people who came from a Hellenistic or an indigenous background. But those two should probably not be distinguished sharply. It is better to see the stimulus as coming from elites who had complex identities of

the kind I have attempted to model. Moreover, the indigenous Egyptian forms do not in themselves assert anything about ethnic origins—as is very clear, for example, from many New Kingdom monuments of people of diverse origins that are wholly Egyptian in style and iconography. Those who had themselves presented in them were adopting indigenous culture for their statues or in their burials, but to do so was not to abjure a different ethnic identity in other contexts.

Finally, I should concede that the style of interpretation I outline may be viewed as being too much of its time. Across a range of disciplines studying many different societies, scholars have now long seen purposeful actors as negotiating complex or multiple identities. One must be cautious about imposing today's focuses on ancient groups. It should, however, also be accepted that the people under study, who were leaders in their society, were probably more adept at manœuvring than those who now interpret them (people in less privileged social groups no doubt also possessed such abilities). In Ptolemaic times they had belonged for many centuries to a society that had numerous ethnic components in a land with a strongly defined ancient civilization that showed hardly any sign of withering.

Postscript

After I had sent this chapter to press, I learned of Günter Vittmann's *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 97; Mainz 2003). This richly documented work includes important forerunners to the material I discuss, a noteworthy example from around 600 BCE being the stone sarcophagus of Wahibreemakhet, whose parents had the Greek names Alexikles and Zenodote (p. 203, pl. 21). The absence of closely comparable examples between that one and Haremhab or Dioskourides, whom I discuss above, in the fourth to second centuries, could be a chance of preservation or could suggest that in the mid first millennium styles of assimilation and cultural interaction of immigrant communities were different from those of the Ptolemaic period. Be that as it may, Vittmann demonstrates how many antecedents Ptolemaic elites could draw upon.

CHAPTER THREE

POSIDIPPUS'S POETRY BOOK: WHERE MACEDON MEETS EGYPT

Susan Stephens

τοίην ἐκχρήσαις τε καὶ ἐξ ἀδύτων καναχήσαι[ς
φωνὴν ἀθανάτην, ὦ ἄνα, καὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ,
ὄφρα με τιμήσωσι Μακηδόνες, οἵ τ' ἐπὶ ν[ήσων
οἵ τ' Ἀσίης πάσης γείτονες ἠιόνος.
Πελλαῖον γένος ἀμόν· ἔοιμι δὲ βίβλον ἑλίσσων
ἄφνω λαοφόρωι κείμενος εἰν ἀγορῆι.

May you send forth and sound out from your holy shrine
Your great immortal voice, for me as well,
So that the Macedonians may honor me, both the islanders
And neighbors from the whole of the Asian shore.
For I am of Pellaean stock: and unrolling a book
May I be placed in the crowded market-place (118.13–18 AB).[1]

If Pella so honored Posidippus, history remains silent. Even for students of Greek literature this man, who characterized his poetic practice as a writer not of epic, or elegy, or lyric, but of epigram, is hardly a familiar figure. Only a handful of poems from what must have been an extensive corpus have survived, preserved in the famous collections of later periods—the so-called Garland of Meleager (from the first century BCE) and the larger Byzantine collection known as the Palatine Anthology.[2] In an irony of circumstance that Posidippus would probably have appreciated, it was not his reception in Macedon that has preserved his work for the current age, but in the Egypt of the Ptolemies, a land that he frequently celebrated in his poetry, but which he consistently imagined not as Egyptian but as Macedonian and Greek.

[1] Greek texts and translations of Posidippus are from Austin and Bastianini's *editio minor*, designated AB throughout. Modifications to their Greek text are noted in the footnotes. Translations follow AB with some changes.

[2] Cameron 1993b, 369–76; Gutzwiller 1998, 151–70.

What has precipitated the sudden interest in Posidippus is the recent recovery of a Ptolemaic papyrus that had been cut up and formed into a breastplate or pectoral for a mummy. When detached and reassembled it was found to contain a roll of epigrams. The discovery of the roll and tantalizing hints of its contents were first announced in 1993, but only in September 2001 was it completely published by the Italian team of Guido Bastianini and Claudio Gallazzi.[3] The event has occasioned a number of scholarly conferences and publications devoted to assessing the literary and historical significance of the new find.[4] In part, the importance of the roll stems from its very early date, assigned on the basis of handwriting and the dated documents found within the same cartonnage to the last quarter of the third century BCE.[5]

This makes it the earliest example of an epigram collection by more than one hundred years. What survives seems to be the beginning of the roll, containing 16 more or less intact columns, before the papyrus breaks off. 112 epigrams in 606 lines of text have been recovered.[6] Although there is no title, Bastianini and Gallazzi attributed the entire roll to Posidippus because of coincidence with two previously known epigrams—one on the snakestone, recorded by Tzetzes (15 AB) and the other on Lysippus' statue of Alexander, found also in Planudes (65 AB), combined with the absence of epigrams of other known epigrammatists.[7] There has been considerable debate about this attribution, and not every one is convinced that all of the poems on this roll are by a single author.[8] Arguments based on an assessment of quality—the reason to query Posidippus' authorship—are difficult to sustain, since quality is a standard that has been known to shift as texts become more familiar, and it is dependent on a priori expectations that a new discovery may often

[3] This *editio princeps*, Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001, is cited throughout as BG. For discussion of the extraction of the roll from its cartonnage see BG 3–11.

[4] To date, four conference volumes have either appeared or are anticipated: Milan 2001 (Bastianini, et al. 2002); Florence, 2002 (Bastianini and Casanova 2002); The Center for Hellenic Studies, 2002 (Acosta-Hughes, Baumbach, Kosmetatou 2004), and Cincinnati, 2003 (Gutzwiller, forthcoming). Within the last two years numerous articles on the new roll have also appeared in *ZPE*.

[5] BG 17.

[6] BG 17–19.

[7] BG 22–24.

[8] Lloyd-Jones 2003, and see Parsons' balanced assessment 2002, 117–18.

challenge. For example, the inherent quality of an individual epigram is likely to be less important if we have a poetry book. If it is a random collection of poems or an anthology selected from more than one poet,[9] quality becomes the default category to explain the choice of each individual epigram. But in a poetry book, the overarching themes may include seemingly insignificant poems, with the result that the whole ends up greater than the sum of its parts. Consensus is growing that this new collection must have been the work of a single organizer, if not sole author, and that it has been carefully organized, not randomly assembled. Thus it is a poetry book, and for this reason also a find of considerable importance.[10]

The attribution of the roll to Posidippus is reinforced by the prominence of Macedon in the new collection. Further, the emphasis on the Ptolemies exhibited throughout this roll is also found in some of Posidippus' previously known epigrams. In the new poems, the Ptolemies are implicitly linked with the Macedonian kings, the Argeads, in 31 AB,[11] and elsewhere explicitly identified as Macedonian. Even when the Ptolemies are not the subject, Macedon and Thrace are important: for example, in the second section, on auguries, a ship guided by the flight of cranes sails from Thrace to Egypt (21 AB). This section concludes with a prophet of Alexander named Strymon (35 AB), not coincidentally the name also of a Thracian river that was famously the home to Thrace's cranes. Although the dedications to Arsinoe must be located in Egypt, it is a Macedonian girl to whom Arsinoe appears in a dream in 36 AB. Pella is named in the fourth section in an epigram for a dead girl lamented by her fellow celebrants of the mysteries (44 AB), and it is likely that Posidippus too was an initiate in the Pellaean mysteries.[12] In the *hippika*, the Ptolemaic victors are identified as Macedonian (78, 82, 87, 88 AB).[13]

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[9] Gutzwiller 1998, 227–36 discusses the evolution of epigram collections from a poetry book to anthology. The discovery of the Milan roll strengthens her line of argument.

[10] Gutzwiller (forthcoming) provides an illuminating discussion of the Milan roll as a poetry book.

[11] Stephens 2004, 165–166; the eagle and a lightning bolt described in the epigram reflect the iconography of early Ptolemaic coinage.

[12] *1 AB (Testimonia) is a lamella from Pella bearing the name of Posidippus. See Dickie 1995. Dignas 2004 discusses the opening of the *epitumbia* in the context of the mysteries.

[13] Pausanias 6.3.1 tells us that Ptolemy I identified himself as Macedonian in an

This constant recollection of Macedon is unparalleled in other Hellenistic poets but it would fit a poet who so closely identified himself with Pella.

Further, emphasis on the Ptolemies (and other contemporary historical figures) cannot be paralleled in later epigram collections, or even in Callimachus' epigrams, though the Ptolemaic line does figure in his hymns and in the *Aetia*. But even before this recent discovery, the sands of Egypt have preserved three epigrams of Posidippus (previously unknown) that do match up well with discrete poems in the new set. Two are dedicatory epigrams for Ptolemaic foundations: one (115 AB), the great lighthouse built in the Alexandrian harbor and one of the seven wonders of the ancient world; the other (116 AB), on the dedication of the temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Cape Zephyrium, slightly east of Alexandria, shares verbal and structural similarities with 38 AB.[14] These two poems (115–116 AB) were copied in 160 BCE by two Greek brothers who lived in the Serapeum at Memphis. Their copy was apparently casual, since they included on the same roll a bread account and a private letter.[15] A third poem that has been attributed to Posidippus is an epithalamium for the marriage of Ptolemy II and his full sister, Arsinoe II (*114 AB).

The topicality of these poems—what surely most interested the Greco-Egyptians who copied these texts—is also the reason they would not have been included in later anthologies, which seem to privilege generic and universalizing themes. The new roll owes its survival to the sort of people the epigrams themselves commemorate. The soldiers, sailors, businessmen, or poets, who migrated to Ptolemy's new foundation from diverse locations throughout the Mediterranean would have formed the readership for the collection. Even generations later when most had intermarried with Egyptians and adapted local Egyptian customs like mummification, nonetheless they continued to insist on their Greek heritage, to read and copy Greek literature.

Olympic dedication, although he was king of Egypt. M. Fantuzzi (forthcoming) observes that non-Greeks were not allowed to compete in the Panhellenic games, but this does not entirely account for the insistence on Macedonian ethnicity in three separate four-line epigrams. In contrast, note that Callimachus in his epinician for Berenice II's Nemean victory praises her as 'from the holy race of the sibling gods' (fr. 383 Pfeiffer + 254 SH).

[14] See Bing 2002/3, 255–60 and Stephens 2004, 171–173.

[15] See Thompson 1987, 105–12 for the context of the find and the other Greek texts copied onto the papyrus. See also Obbink 2004.

The organization of the roll

The epigrams are arranged in interlocked sections, at least ten of which survive; a title heads each section. While later epigram collections generally group poems by topic or theme, and have sequences of related poems, this papyrus is unique both in the choice of topic[16] and in the internal dynamics of each grouping (see below). Sections in order are: on stones (*lithika*, a title restored by editors), augury (*oiônoskopika*), statue dedications (*anathematika*), epitaphs (*epitumbia*, a title restored by editors), poems on statue making (*andriantopoiika*), poems on victories in horse and chariot racing (*hippika*), poems on those who died in shipwreck (*nauagika*), poems on healing (*iamatika*), poems on characters (*tropoi*), and a final section the title of which is now lost. The categories of augury, healing dedications, and *tropoi* were previously unattested as titles for poems.[17] Several sections exhibit an interest in technical skills—stone cutting and statue making, optics, augury, healing—that is reflected elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry.

Many individual poems are not untypical of Callimachus or other contemporary writers of epigram, though their poems are not organized into commensurate categories. The opening section contains a few epigrams that would be appropriate for a sympotic or an erotic grouping (especially the first eight poems), but no discrete section in what survives is so titled. It is possible that such sections have now been lost. But speculation on what the original length may have been is risky at best, since this collection is the earliest we have by over a hundred years and already atypical in its blend of topical and timeless themes. It may have conformed to subsequent practices, but equally it may have diverged. This means that we could as easily have all but the final section, or we could have no more than a fraction of the original roll. The novelty of this new find will emerge in what follows. Epigrams make a virtue out of being small: their intent is to convey a single intense emotion or clever twist complete within only a few lines (usually 2–8). Thus they are unsuitable for complex narrative. However, we find in this our earliest example of a poetry book that the poet/arranger compensates for the natural limitations of the single epigram by the order of his poems and by

[16] Cameron 1993b, 3–12; Gutzwiller 1998, 20–36.
[17] Lavigne-Romano 2004, 14–15.

the repetition of elements that allow the reader to make non-linear associations. In this way, a polysemic narrative unfolds that depends initially on sequences established by the section ordering, but flows out and folds back upon itself in numerous ways.

The best image to capture the style and intricacy of this collection is the mosaic. Individual pieces of tile or stone considered in isolation may appear bland and insignificant, but when viewed from a distance the whole pattern emerges. In fact, Alexandrian mosaic-making was justly famous, and its best-known examples, two related pieces from Thmuis, portray a woman, armed with corslet, shield, and spear, and crowned with a ship.[18] She has been usually taken as the personified city of Alexandria, accoutered to convey her economic and military mastery of the Mediterranean world.[19] The Milan Posidippus roll has much in common with this mosaic: the overall focus is the empire of the Ptolemies, exemplified not by the male members of the line, but their queens; and the individual poems coalesce to present us with a dynamic and variegated portrayal of their realm. Theirs is not a Homeric world celebrated for war and courage in battle. Battle is muted and usually fatal. Most poems are about individuals who are not heroic, whose portrayals provide a refreshing reminder that kings (and queens) have subjects who are wise and foolish, brave and cowardly, amusing and boorish.

With respect to gender dynamics, we find that the epigrams about women tend to be grouped separately from epigrams about men. We also find a general movement from male rulers to the female Ptolemies. The first two sections are a mix of male/female, though men predominate as artists, givers of gifts, and interpreters of omens. Women are the central focus of the third section, which consists of four dedications to Arsinoe, a fifth to Leto, and the sixth too broken to determine. Women make two of these dedications, men four. The fourth section features sepulchral epigrams, eighteen of which

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[18] One is inscribed *Sophilos epoiêsen*, that is, 'Sophilos made me.' The second seems to have been a less well-executed copy of the former. See Daszewski 1995, catalogue nos. 38 and 39, especially the commentary on no. 38, 146–55.

[19] Daszewski 1995, 151 would identify both mosaics as Berenice II; Kuttner 1999, 111–13 takes one to be Arsinoe II, the other Berenice II. In Stephens (forthcoming) I discuss the imagery of the first dedication to Arsinoe (36 AB) in terms of the later mosaics.

are for or primarily about women. The last, though about a man, measures his age in terms of offspring of daughters (61 AB). The fifth section features male artists and subjects, while the sixth (*hippika*) is set up to showcase the victories of Ptolemaic queens. The figures in the next three sections are all male, though the *iamatika*, to judge from the evidence of real healing shrines, could easily have included dedications from women.

The division of male and female reflects the division of labor within the empire. Women's lives are recorded in epitaphs that celebrate them within their households—as worshippers of the gods (36, 42–44 AB), in childbirth (56, 57 AB), weaving (45, 46, 49, 55 AB), singing (51, 58 AB), tending the young and old of the family (52 AB), in marriage and old age (58, 59 AB). Men are soldiers, sailors, competitors in the games, travelers on their own or on official business. The text thus records their activity away from home; their deaths are epitomized in the section on shipwrecks, commemorated more often than not by cenotaphs. The lives of women have a grounding effect within the collection. Men fortunate enough to die at home and be buried by their children are found only in the last two poems of the *epitumbia* (60, 61 AB). The dynamics of home/away is encapsulated in 54 AB, an epigram in which a ten-year old child, Myrtis, dies and is buried by her brothers. The poignancy of her death is underscored by the fact that her father, though alive, is unaware, since he is traveling far from home (54 AB). Courageous behavior does occur, but in unexpected places. For example, we find a mother who saves her newborn (57 AB), and most surprisingly a female horse whose desire for victory outstrips the male horses of her chariot team (74 AB).

These latter examples strengthen an overall impression that what we have of the roll is focused less on the achievements of men than of women, to complement the prominence of the Ptolemaic queens. The dedications to Arsinoe in the third section are tributes to the queen as a divinity. The inclusion of Leto in this section—a second rank goddess—reinforces by association the elevation of the dead queen in the ranks of the immortals. In the *hippika*, we find the imperial women, but especially the Berenices, celebrated in the masculine venue of chariot racing. The penultimate epigram of that section, for example, not only celebrates her Olympic victory, it casts it as a triumph over another king's daughter:

πῶ[λοι[20]] ἔθ' ἁμὲς ἐοῦσαι Ὀλυμ[πια]κὸν Βερενίκης,
Π[ι]σᾶ[τ]αι, Μακέτας ἀγάγομ[ε]ς στέφανον,
ὃς τὸ [πο]λυθρύλατον ἔχει κλέος. ὧι τὸ Κυνίσκας
ἐν Σπά[ρ]ται χρόνιον κῦδος ἀφειλόμεθα.

When we were still [fillies] we won the Olympic crown
For Macedonian Berenice, O citizens of Pisa,
Which has the much-celebrated reputation of having eclipsed
The age-old glory of Cynisca in Sparta (87 AB).

The epigram evokes the Olympic monument to Cynisca, the daughter of the Spartan king Archidamus II, who held the distinction of being the first woman to have won victory there in chariot racing (around 396 BCE).[21] The glory that heretofore Cynisca enjoyed we see now transferred to Berenice I, a movement analogous to the flow of precious commodities from the edges of Alexander's empire towards the kingdom of the Ptolemies in the opening section. The epigrammatist imaginatively constructs the victory monument for the new queen, and refashions a world of men—the competitions at the games—as now of women. The inclusion of Mandane (4 AB) at a much earlier place in the roll, as a recipient of elegantly carved gems, may begin the foregrounding of imperial women. Two royal women in the Persian line are known to have had this name—the mother of Cyrus the Great and the daughter of Cyrus.[22] As the recipient of expensive gifts, however, Mandane's role remains a traditional one; in contrast the Ptolemaic queens in these epigrams have much more complex roles: Arsinoe is celebrated as a goddess, especially of the sea (39 AB),[23] while on land, several queens of the line distinguish themselves, along with their husbands and fathers, within the male world as victors at the games.

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[20] Reading πῶ[λοι (suggested by Michael Haslam) rather than AB's ἵπ[ποι].

[21] Cyniska's monument and its inscribed epigram (AP 13.16) are discussed in BG 215, as well as in Fantuzzi (forthcoming).

[22] Although BG 113 take the name to refer to a non-royal woman, a contemporary of the poet, who receives the gift, Gutzwiller (forthcoming) makes a strong case for identifying her with Persian royalty.

[23] Bing 2002/3, 255–59.

Posidippus' poetics

In many ways the poetics of the Milan roll coincide with received views on Alexandrian poetry: (1) the deliberate contrasting of large and small is pervasive and extends out from the formal arrangement of the roll to condition our understanding of its aesthetics; (2) there is great emphasis on the discrete object, whether as subject for a poem (gem, statue, rock, coin, gift) or as the medium on which the poem exists (commemorative or votive dedication, epitaph); and (3) there are many levels of hermeneutic play: what is initially seen, heard, thought, or said is often forced to undergo revision in light of subsequent epigrams. For all of this, contemporary Hellenistic parallels are easy to adduce. But this new find differs in one important particular: despite its strong emphasis on artistic values, it cannot be labeled 'art for art's sake'; rather it seems to have been constructed to showcase the Ptolemies as heirs of Alexander, and to depict their economic and military might as enabling their patronage of the arts. This is most obvious in poems featuring Arsinoe, Berenice, and Ptolemy II and III. What for want of a better term can be labeled the 'political' narrative is abetted by a centripetal geographic movement from the periphery of empire towards Alexandria that extends over the first three sections.

The roll opens at the Indian Hydaspes, the site of Alexander's victory over Porus, moves through Persia and an encounter with Darius, who was defeated by Alexander, through Arabia, Cilicia, and Syria, to arrive at the land of the Ptolemies.[24] Strategically placed poems move us from the great Persian king, Darius (4, 8 AB), to Alexander, who defeated the Persians (31, 35 AB), to the Ptolemies (20, 31 AB), to end with Arsinoe, depicted as a warrior queen at the beginning of the *anathematika* (36 AB). Over the next three sections the geographical center shifts away from Egypt to regions of mainland Greece and the islands important to the Ptolemies: the *epitumbia* begin in Thrace (43, 44 AB) and include individuals from

[24] Hutchinson 2002, 3 links the opening words of the roll: Ἰνδὸς Ὑδάσπες with Virgil, *Georgics* 4.211: Medus Hydaspes. In fact, Virgil reprises the geographical movement of the opening of the roll, but in reverse, moving from Egypt out to the Hydaspes: *Praeterea regem non sic Aegyptus et ingens | Lydia nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes | observant.*

Cyrene, Paphos (Cyprus), Marathos (Syria), Argos, and Boeotia. The *andriantopoiika* feature mainly the islands—Cos, Crete, Rhodes—while the *hippika* are located in the sites of the Panhellenic games—Olympia, Nemea, Delphi, Isthmia. The victorious Ptolemies are seen celebrated in these sites—and one epigram even slyly includes the Ptolemaia, established in Alexandria by Ptolemy II in honor of his father around 278 BCE, as if it were the equal of these other games (76 AB). The first three sections thus seem constructed to lead up to and celebrate Arsinoe's deification in Egypt, while the next three draw us back to old Greece, to the Panhellenic sites for the showcasing of Berenice.[25]

For Roman poets the rejection of the large and privileging of the small was a benchmark of Alexandrian poetics. Callimachus' pronouncements in the *Aetia* prologue, for example, ironized as cultivating fat sheep but slender Muses,[26] was echoed by Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, and Propertius as part of their 'rejection' of epic.[27] Theocritus, too, in the ecphrasis of the prize cup in his first *Idyll*, recreates—but in a small format—the strife of Homeric epic.[28] We are predisposed therefore to a text that celebrates the intimate, but rejects the broader canvass. In spite of the fact that a roll of epigrams by its very nature privileges the small, we find in this roll that 'large' units or subjects often stand in deliberate contrast with small. Large sections of 21, 15, 20, and 18 epigrams alternate with small sections containing only 6, 7, or 8. Large epigrams of 12–14 lines, always on 'large' topics, like the accomplishments of the Ptolemies, punctuate or conclude the longer sections. For example, in the *hippika* individual victors are commemorated in four-line epigrams, but the fourth epigram of the section, fourteen lines in length, commemorates a suitably important dedication by Ptolemy II's admiral, Callicrates of Samos, in honor of the Sibling Gods (74 AB).[29] The eighth epigram of the section, also of fourteen lines, is spoken by Queen Berenice, who exhorts 'all poets' to sing of the generations of victorious Ptolemies (78 AB).

[25] The last three sections are very short and it is now impossible to predict how these earlier trajectories would have played out.

[26] Fr. 1.21–4 Pfeiffer.

[27] E.g., Catullus *Carm.* 1; Virgil *Ec.* 6.1–6; Ovid *Amores*, 1.1, 3.1; Propertius 3.1.1–7; 3.3.1–25.

[28] *Id.* 1.27–55 and see Gow's notes ad loc.

[29] Bing 2002/3, 245–52. He suggests that the dedication was set up in Alexandria (252).

Four poems on Berenice's victories duly follow this exhortation.[30] Objects, too, partake of this contrast. The first section moves from small, precious stones to increasingly larger stones, now no longer precious, to end with a rock large enough to destroy a town (19 AB). The smallest subject is a carefully incised chariot described as no bigger than 'a blemish on a fingernail' (15 AB).[31] The penultimate poem in the section is fourteen lines long, featuring a Homeric rock hurled up on a coastline by Poseidon (19 AB).[32] The dedications of the *anathematika* range from freedom's first water, offered by a manumitted slave woman (38 AB), to an entire temple, dedicated at Cape Zephyrium by Callicrates (39 AB).[33] The clearest statement of the contrast comes in the *andriantopoiïka*. This section articulates a mini-history of the sculptural tradition and valorizes an artistic standard of realism exemplified by Lysippus.[34] Here the artistry of the extremely small subject, a tiny bronze chariot executed by Theodorus (67 AB),[35] is juxtaposed with that of the gigantic, Chares' colossus of Rhodes (68 AB).[36] In the *hippika*, individual victories with a single horse serve as a foil for the multiple chariot victories of the Ptolemies. In the *iamatika*, the opening poem is the longest (eight lines): it commemorates a doctor who seems to have been connected to the Ptolemaic court (see below) and who is skilled at curing snakebites.[37] All others in the section are victims of disease or of wounds.

The contrast extends to individuals: at one end the text is populated with the great conquerors of the past—Darius and Alexander—and

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[30] 79–82 AB are all for Berenice's victories. Berenice is described variously as 'queen' (78 AB), 'virgin' (79 AB), 'child' (80, 81 AB), and as a daughter of Ptolemy (82 AB). The original editors have taken her to be Berenice II, the wife of Ptolemy III and daughter, not of Ptolemy II, but of Magus (BG 207–8). D. Thompson (forthcoming) suggests that the description would more easily fit Berenice (Syra), the daughter of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I.

[31] There may be a play on the meaning of ψεύδει χειρός (line 5), not only a 'blemish,' but a 'deception of the hand.'

[32] Bergsdorff 2002, 11–19, Hunter 2002.

[33] Bing 2002/3, 255–59.

[34] Gutzwiller 2002 is an illuminating discussion of the arrangement and art historical significance of this section.

[35] The statue was known by Pliny *N.H.* 34.83, who claims that Theodorus had cast a statue of himself in bronze, holding in his left hand a miniature chariot with four horses.

[36] See Gutzwiller 2002, 42 on Theodorus; 55–58 for Chares.

[37] Bergsdorff 2002, 29–32; Bing 2002.

of course the Ptolemies; at the other end, we see ordinary people—slaves, women, a victim of shipwreck who even describes himself as 'small' (*mikkos*, 94 AB).[38] Further, the movement in the opening section from the small and precious to more common stones, to end with a large and destructive boulder raises a sense of the dangers inherent in the large, especially the large-scale historical events that are reflected by the deaths of ordinary men. For example, the first section ends with a plea to Poseidon to protect the lands of the Ptolemies (20 AB), but a later prayer to the 'Lord of the Sea' asks, with much greater pathos, for no more than the return of the body of a shipwrecked man to his own shore (93 AB). Consider the following pair, for example:

> ξέσματος ἱδρώσαντος ὅσος πόνος ἀνδρὶ πολίτηι
> καὶ δοράτων ὅσσος προσφέρεται νιφετός·
> ἀλλὰ τὸν ἱδρ[ώσα]ντα κάλει θεόν, ὅστις ἀπώσε[ι
> πῦρ ἐπὶ δυ[σμε]νέων αὔλια καὶ καλάμα[ς.

> When a statue sweats, what great trouble it portends for the citizen
> and what a great snowstorm of spears.
> But summon the sweating god, who will divert fire
> onto the folds and crops of his enemies (30 AB).

Although the omen is vivid, the epigram is sufficiently vague that a reader might easily dismiss it as a generic commentary on war. In the context of the next epigram, however, the 'snowstorm of spears' becomes the inevitable result of Alexander's good fortune.

> ἀετὸς ἐκ νε[φέων] καὶ ἅμα στεροπὴ καταβᾶ[σα
> νίκης οἰων[οὶ δε]ξιοὶ ἐς πόλεμον
> Ἀργεάδαις βα[σιλε]ῦσιν, Ἀθηναίη δὲ πρὸ ναο[ῦ
> ἴχνος κίνη[σεν δε]ξιὸν ἐκ μολύβου·
> οἷον Ἀλεξά[νδρ]ωι ἐφάνη τέρας, ἡνίκα Περσ[ῶν
> ταῖς ἀναρ[ιθμ]ήτοις πῦρ ἐκύει στρατιᾶι[ς.

> An eagle coming from the clouds and, simultaneously, flashes of lightning
> were auspicious omens of victory in war
> for the Argead kings. And Athena in front of her temple
> moving her auspicious foot from the lead.
> Such a portent appeared to Alexander, when he bred fire
> for the innumerable armies of Persians (31 AB).

[38] Equally the man's name might be *Mikkos*; cf. Callimachus *Ep.* 48 Pfeiffer with a similar play on *mikkos-megas*.

What is propitious for Alexander does not necessarily bring good fortune for those caught up in the contest. Clustering around these omens, we find a series of figures who could be examples of the woeful citizen: Phocian Timoleon dying in war (28 AB); Euelthon dying in Sidene (29 AB); Antimachus (32 AB) dying as he opposes the Illyrian enemy. Their deaths reinforce the message of 30 AB—what is auspicious for the commanding general may not be to the advantage of the average man: Phocians resisted Philip at Chaeronia and were destroyed; Sidene was destroyed by Croesus and never rebuilt, and it stood on the Granicus, the site of Alexander's victory over the satraps of Darius;[39] the Illyrian enemy implies resistance to Macedon.

The metapoetic play implicit in the large-small dynamics can be illustrated by the epigrams whose ecphrastic subject is a chariot.[40] As we saw above, the carving of 15 AB and the work of Theodorus (67 AB) are celebrated for their capacity to capture detail that is both realistic and exquisite within such a small format. In 15 the artist is said to have needed the eye of Lynceus—an exceptional and penetrating vision, to see what others do not—in order to carve such a tiny object. Also implicit, of course, is that the eye of Lynceus, or the eye of discernment, may be necessary to fully appreciate the full extent of the detail. (It is easy to understand this as a type or model for the work of the epigrammatist himself.)

8 AB features an engraving of Darius on his chariot. This object is described as very large in comparison to other incised gems in the section, and the subject is equally large, alluding as it must to a moment when Darius confronts Alexander at Gaugamela or Issos.[41] Possibly we are to understand that the quality of the engraving itself allows us to recognize Darius, by his attributes if not his visage. In reality it is the epigrammatist whose art both describes and interprets the object, and conveys upon it a deeper signification by naming the figure in the chariot Darius. By choosing to depict Darius on his chariot, the poet recreates what seems to have been a poignant

[39] Strabo 13.1.11 and 42.

[40] Hutchinson 2002, 2.

[41] Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* 33.3–4) describes their encounter as one of pathos, and Darius on his chariot in the field of battle is pictured on the Alexander mosaic. For the later see Stewart 1993, 130–34.

image of the Persian king at the moment of his defeat by Alexander, and in this way, artistic and political narratives converge. Chariots then are emblematic of artistry, and of conquest; in the *hippika*, however, chariots also function as vehicles for imperial display in the Panhellenic games. All but two chariot victories commemorated in this section belong to the Ptolemies, and it is their victories, and especially those of their queens, that are invested with the greatest significance.

Unfortunately, little remains of the two other poems commemorating chariot victories: but in 75 AB the victor is Spartan and the speaking mares of that epigram look forward to 87 AB, where the speaking mares of Berenice's team boast the conquest of Cynisca of Sparta, as we saw above. Our chariot poems are in sequence: (1) Darius on his chariot—at the moment of defeat; (2) the artistry of a chariot incised on a gemstone—or the implement of war now turned into art; (3) the miniature of Theodorus, celebrated also for its artistic perfection, looking forward to the *hippika* by virtue of the poet's emphasis on the reins, and driver's eye and hand; and finally, (4) in the *hippika*, chariots moving from the world of men to women as Berenice bests Cynisca, or Macedonian bests Spartan. Close to the center of the *hippika*, we find an address to poets exhorting them to celebrate these imperial victories (78 AB). Thus poems that initially present themselves as a series of dedicatory epigrams—recreating the victory monument—take on the aspects of *epinicia* as well. But unlike Callimachus' *epinicia* or familiar archaic examples, these, like the chariot of 15 AB, have been executed in miniature.

The aesthetics of miniature are especially relevant for the overall hermeneutic strategy of the roll—the careful attention to small signs in order to understand events correctly. This is most systematically explored in the second section. The *oiônoskopika* provide the reader with a practicum on the reading of signs. The reader is led to 'correct' readings via a series of examples, initially straightforward, then ambiguous, then falsely read, before ending with a series of omens for Alexander, that can be interpreted on more than one level.[42] Initially the reader is encouraged to understand the section title—*oiônoskopika*—in its literal sense of 'bird-omen', until he reaches the

[42] See Lavigne-Romano 2004.

fifth poem of the series (28 AB). This epigram seems not to have a bird sign but an old man (πρέσβυς), and several of the omens that follow have no birds either. At this juncture the reader is forced to reevaluate the meaning of the title, to understand it in its broader sense of 'auguries'. The key epigram reads as follows:

> ἢν ἀνδρὸς μέλλοντος ἐπ' Ἄρεα δήιον ἕρπειν
> ἀντήσηι κλαίων πρέσβυς ἐπὶ τριόδου,
> οὐκέτι νοστήσει κεῖνος βροτός· ἀλλ' ἀναθέσθω
> τὴν τόθ' ὁδοιπορίην εἰς ἕτερον πόλεμον·
> καὶ γὰρ Τιμολέων κεκλαυμένος ἦλθεν ὁ Φωκεὺς
> ἐκ πολέμου τούτωι σήματι μεμψάμενος.

> If someone about to go off to destructive war,
> Is met at the crossroads by a mourning *presbus*
> That mortal will no longer return. But let him change
> That journey for another war.
> For indeed Phocian Timoleon became an object of mourning after he came home
> From war having scoffed at this sign. (28 AB)

The epigram makes its point by virtue of its place in the sequence: at first the reader is likely to assume that κλαίων πρέσβυς refers to an old man, whose weeping is a proleptic reminder that the individual whom he encounters will not return alive. But πρέσβυς can also designate a bird, a wren, and since the earlier epigrams related bird signs, at this juncture the reader must question which meaning is intended. Once confronted with alternatives, the reader will then read more carefully, to avoid being misled by similarly ambiguous signs. Puns contribute to the sense of deeper meaning or ambiguity: for example, the *phênê* (or Egyptian vulture) *phainetai* (27 AB); *Euelthon* (Mr. Good Journey) has a bad journey; *Asteriê* summons a heron to her rites (*asteriê* is a type of heron). *Antimachos* dies in battle after a bad omen.[43] Alexander's Thracian augur, Strymon, bears the same name as the region's most famous river. Strymon bases his prophecies on observing ravens, but the Strymon itself was notable as the summer home of Thracian cranes.

All the poems in this section require knowing the code—what is good for one person or occupation is bad for another. Fishermen

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[43] *Ibid.* See also Gutzwiller (forthcoming) for a discussion of the word play in the *oiônoskopika* as a reflection of Stoic ideas.

and sea-goers should hope to sight different birds: diving birds indicate fish for the former, but danger from sinking for the latter. But the codes become more complex: Aristoxeinos dreams of sleeping with Athena in her golden chamber, and interprets this to mean he would be intrepid in battle (33 AB); he is killed for his foolishness. In dream lore, to dream of sleeping with a god or goddess (if the dreamer enjoys it) signals good fortune.[44] But to this general principle there is a caveat: to dream of sleeping with Hera or the virgin goddesses, because of their sacrosanct status, was always a bad omen. Aristoxeinos, then, interpreted incautiously and paid the price. In contrast, in the first poem of *anathematika* Hêgêsô dreams of Arsinoe, and correctly interprets the omen (36 AB). The dream portent of the Hêgêsô epigram explicitly links it with the preceding section, and thus the hermeneutic play that the reader has been experiencing is felt to continue throughout the rest of the collection.

The potential for ambivalence or double meanings is significant elsewhere as well. The fourth section (*epitumbia*) is arranged around a central poem (52 AB), in which a man is buried near a *horologion*, and his tomb attended by 'this girl,'[45] who over time grows old. The conceit of the time marker in the middle of the section of tomb inscriptions is unifying and extends its influence over all who are commemorated in the section. In this way the section itself becomes a literary burial ground in which the poet preserves the memory of these particular dead. But, something else is happening as well. As Kathryn Gutzwiller has demonstrated, often the sundial found alongside a tomb takes on a specific shape, that of a girl. Is 'this girl' then a real person—the daughter of the dead man—or the *horologion*? Of course a real daughter would not herself exist; she too would be an artifact of the poet's imagination, as are all the 'real' women commemorated in the epitaphs. Via the individual epigrams, this section recreates the stages of women's lives and their characteristic activities. The literariness of the section is indicated by the conversations, now gone forever, that are called 'Sapphic' in 55 AB, while the girl/*horologion* watching forever over the dead man is analogous to all of the women caring for their kin, as well as to the poet whose epigrams preserve them in memory.

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[44] Artemidorus *Oneirocritica* 80.18–25.

[45] AB reads Ἄστη παῖς, but several scholars have suggested an alternative reading: αὕτη παῖς. See the discussion in Gutzwiller (forthcoming).

The same tension between the epigram as a literary fiction and the 'real' world it mimics is found in the *iamatika*. These are seven dedications, the first to Apollo, the rest to Asclepius, except for the sixth, which records a temporary 'cure' but no healer. In consecutive order, they celebrate cures for snakebite (95 AB), lameness (96 AB), the sacred disease (97 AB), a suppurating wound (98 AB), deafness (99 AB), and blindness (100 AB), thus replicating the kind of votive offerings commonly found at healing shrines like Epidauros.[46] The last poem is a prayer for health and moderate wealth (101 AB). The doctor named in the first poem, Medeius, son of Lampon, has been identified by Peter Bing as an eponymous priest of the Theoi Adelphoi from 258 BCE. The same individual is apparently in charge of expenses for *ta iatrika* in *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59036 (dated to 257 BCE). Thus the Medeius of the epigram is likely to have been a prominent practitioner in early Ptolemaic Alexandria.[47] Since medicine was an important field of scientific endeavor in the new city, inclusion of poems on healing could be read as a compliment to this particular intellectual interest of the Ptolemies.

There is a disjunction between the first poem and the rest, however. The introductory epigram describes a dedication made by Medeius in thanksgiving to Pythian Apollo, his divine patron, for his success rate in healing victims of snakebite.[48] In it we find a triple interplay between the individuals afflicted by the poisons, the representation of their condition in epigram, and the object the doctor dedicates: an emaciated bronze skeleton (95 AB). The 'realism' of this dedication reflects 'the canon of truth' that is articulated in the *andriantopoiika*;[49] the poem hovers between two realizations—a 'real' object commemorated in a text and/or a text that (re?)creates the object. In contrast, the next five are all by individuals cured not by medical practice, but by Asclepius, through prayer or dreams, a circumstance that calls to mind the ambiguous dreams of earlier epigrams. These latter then work *against* the model of scientific medicine implicit in the first poem. A further hint of disingenuousness comes in 97 AB, where the man cured of 'the sacred disease' is a Coan.

[46] Bing 2004, 284–285.
[47] Bing 2002, 298–9.
[48] BG 222–3.
[49] Bergsdorff 2002, 31.

One of the most important tracts attributed to Hippocrates of Cos was *On the Sacred Disease*, a late fifth or early fourth century debunking of the idea that this disease was divinely inspired and thus different from other diseases. *On the Sacred Disease* is generally regarded as a foundational text of Greek medicine, and to have originated if not from the father of Greek medicine, Hippocrates, from the great medical school on Cos.[50] In this epigram, however, the Coan undergoes not scientific medical treatment but a dream cure. In all likelihood, he is the same Soses of Cos who is dead a few poems later (103 AB).

The *iamatika* are located between the *nauagika*, on those dead at sea, and the *tropoi*. Their location, coupled with the dubious status of a dream cure, creates an impression that many of the sufferers, like the blind man and Soses, may also be dead. These three sections together serve as a complement to the earlier section of *epitumbia*, where ordinary women predominate, and contribute to a sense of the diversity of the world of the Ptolemies. The ironic 'cures' of deafness and blindness—the deaf man can now hear through walls and the blind man, who dies within a day of his cure, gets to 'see' Hades—also enhance the link with the preceding and following sections, because the conceit of the epitaph is that the dead, although now located in Hades, can hear and communicate with the passerby via the stone monument. The victims of shipwreck are mainly commemorated in cenotaphs, or monuments that speak even when empty, while the *tropoi* seems to be a series of eight epitaphs that record the characters of the various dead men in terms of their speech acts, reified on their tombstones.

For example, of the four whose texts are more or less intact we have (1) a dead Cretan, described as *oligorrêmon*, a man of few words, irritated by the alleged queries of the passerby (102 AB); (2) in contrast, Soses of Cos in 103 AB is garrulous in his complaint that the passerby has failed to ask who he is—perhaps because we already know his story from an earlier epigram (98 AB); (3) a man who distinguishes himself as a student of philosophy (104 AB); and (4) a stutterer, whose name is appropriately Battus (105 AB). He tells us he is *Adramyttenos aner Timantheos Adramuyttene*, a line choked with the

[50] Lloyd 1970, 54–5.

repetition of *ad/an* and *te/the* to simulate the effect of stuttering. The hermeneutic strategies employed throughout the roll, especially the speaking objects that frequently say more than they intend, and the consistent exploitation of ambiguous or ironic situations, are equally important when reading what I have called the 'political' narrative of Ptolemaic succession.

Praising the Ptolemies

The world of the Ptolemies is fleshed out in three main ways:

(1) Epigrams praise them overtly. We meet Ptolemy II as a patron of the arts in 64 AB, the ostensible subject of which is the entirely 'realistic' statue of Philitas created at Ptolemy's behest. Since Philitas of Cos was both a poet and the imperial tutor, the poem ratifies Ptolemy's position as a man of learning as well as of wealth. It also creates an artistic standard that is applicable to Posidippus' epigrams as well as to the plastic arts.[51] Arsinoe is more subtly identified as a patron of the arts in 37 AB: she receives a lyre that is carried to her temple by a dolphin 'like Arion's'—an allusion to the archaic lyric poet who was saved by a dolphin. Arion was said to have been the inventor of dithyramb and practiced his art in another imperial court, that of Periander of Corinth.[52] Like the lyre, poets and poetry thus symbolically migrate from old Greece to the new imperial city.[53] Ptolemy III and more importantly Berenice[54] are celebrated for their equestrian victories in the *hippika*. Most significant, though, are the poems of the *anathematika*, 'dedications' to Arsinoe II, who is surely already dead and deified. One of these commemorates the dedication of her temple at Cape Zephyrium by Ptolemy II's admiral, Callicrates, in terms that seem to locate Arsinoe as patron divinity for the imperial navy, as well as a new goddess of the sea.[55]

(2) In addition to Callicrates, a number of individuals are named who belonged to the imperial circles: Philitas of Cos, and also Medeius,

[51] Bergsdorff 2002, 19–26, contextualizes 64 AB in terms of Hellenistic poetics; see also Gutzwiller 2002, 96–8.

[52] Herodotus 1.23–4, Plutarch, *Septem sap. sen.* 18 (160F–62B).

[53] Bing 2002/3, 260–64; Stephens 2003, 162–163.

[54] See above, p. 70.

[55] Bing 2002/3, 255–59.

the doctor from 95 AB. Since he was an eponymous priest of the Theoi Adelphoi in 258 BCE, an inclusion of his name at a relatively late stage of the roll might have been intended to recall or reinforce the earlier poems on the deified Arsinoe. Possibly the philosopher Menedemus (103 AB) belongs in this group, since Diogenes Laertius in his biography mentions that he often served on embassies for the Successors, including the Ptolemies.[56]

(3) There is a subtle and pervasive intimation of a shift in power from Alexander to the Ptolemies as their successors. This is accomplished primarily in the transition between the *oiônoskopika* and *anathematika*, and it culminates in the first dedication to Arsinoe II (34–36 AB). The reader has already been made aware of Alexander as the roll opens; the Indian Hydapses (1 AB) was the site of his victory over Porus, and he defeated Darius to conquer Persia (mentioned in 4, 8, 31, 35 AB). 10 AB is very fragmentary but in it the Nabateans are named. Their presence must also contribute to the political background, since they were a thorn in the side of Antigonus.[57] Their homeland, known for its difficulty of approach, was called 'The Rock' or Petra. The aptness of inhabitants of 'The Rock' for a section devoted to stones is unlikely to have gone unnoticed, in light of the hermeneutic challenges of the second section, nor is it likely to have been the result of happenstance.

As we saw above, the *oiônoskopika* required us to decode signs, to read beyond the surface to find alternate interpretations. The penultimate poem in the section singles out Damon of Telmissos:

> ἐκ τούτου ⟨τοῦ⟩ πάντα περισκέπτοιο κολωνοῦ
>   Δάμων Τελμησσεὺς ἐκ πατέρων ἀγαθὸς
> οἰωνοσκοπίας τεκμαίρεται· ἀλλ' ἴτε φήμην
>   καὶ Διὸς οἰωνοὺς ὧδ' ἀναπευσόμε̣[νοι.

> From this hill which has a panoramic view
>   Damon of Telmessos, with the skill of his ancestors,
> Makes his observations of bird signs. But come
>   Consult the prophet's voice and the omens of Zeus (34 AB).

What exactly Damon saw we are not told, but his Telmessan lineage and the 'omens of Zeus' draw us back in time to an impor-

[56] 2.140.
[57] Diodorus Siculus 19.44–48; Jerome 35.6–11.

tant event in the career of Alexander, who is mentioned in 31 AB and again in the epigram that follows. The Telmessans, both male and female, were famous for their skills as prophets,[58] and one of them, after correctly reading a bird omen (from Zeus' bird, the eagle), became the mother of Midas of Gordium. Midas' chariot, tied with a complicated knot, subsequently became a votive offering and sat in a temple of Zeus Basileus.[59] Legend had it that whoever could undo the knot would become the ruler of Asia. The Alexander literature recounts how Alexander, on learning of the prophecy, simply cut through the knot with his sword.[60] The next and final epigram of the section presents itself as an epitaph for Strymon, whose skill in prophesy thrice foretold victory for Alexander. The image of the raven on his tombstone[61] identifies for all who passed his particular type of expertise—correctly reading the signs of birds, particularly of ravens:

μάντις ὁ τῶι κόρακι Στρύμῳ[ν] ὑπ[ο]κείμεν[ο]ς ἥρως
  Θρήιξ ὀρνίθων ἀκρότατος ταμίης·
ὧι τόδ' Ἀλέξανδρος σημήνατο, τρὶς γὰρ ἐνίκα
  Πέρσας τῶι τούτου χρησάμενος κόρακι.

A prophet lies beneath the raven, the Thracian hero
  Strymon, supreme steward of omens.
With this Alexander marked him, for thrice he defeated
  The Persians after consulting the voice of his raven (35 AB).

What Strymon's ravens could have told him about the Persians is not recorded either, but the ominous appearance of ravens is very important in the mythology of Alexander—for example, their presence signaled his death in Babylon.[62] For the Ptolemies another omen would have been of crucial importance. Arrian (claiming Aristoboulos as a source) and Plutarch record that when Alexander was marching with his army toward the shrine of Zeus Ammon at the Siwah oasis, ravens appeared and flew above them to guide their way, even crying out at night to prevent stragglers from becoming lost. When he arrived at the shrine Alexander was greeted as the son of Ammon,

[58] Herodotus 1.78, 84; Arrian *An.*, 2.3.3.
[59] *An.*, 2.3.3–8, Plutarch *Vit Alex.*, 18.
[60] *An.*, 2.3.1, 7–8.
[61] Schröder 2002.
[62] Plutarch *Vit. Alex.*, 73.2. Alexander saw ravens flying about the walls and some fell to the ground dead at his feet.

and this was construed to make him divine.[63] After Alexander's death, when his body was being conveyed for burial to the Siwah shrine, Soter took possession of it and subsequently built a tomb for it in Alexandria.[64] The Ptolemies maintained the fiction of Alexander's divinity; they not only instituted a cult to him, they also introduced subsequent members of their house into the cult.[65]

Among the first to be so linked was Arsinoe II, with her husband as one of the Sibling Gods (*Theoi Adelphoi*) in 278 BCE, and later on at the time of her death.[66] After the two epigrams hinting at the succession and divinity of Alexander, we now meet Arsinoe in 36 AB:

> Ἀρσινόη, σοι τοῦτο διὰ στολίδων ἀνεμοῦσθαι
> βύσσινον ἄγκειται βρεγμ' ἀπὸ Ναυκράτιος.
> ὧι συ, φίλη, κατ' ὄνειρον ὀμόρξασθαι γλυκὺν ἱδρῶ
> ἤθελες, ὀτρηρῶν παυσαμένη καμάτων·
> ὧς ἐφάνης, Φιλάδελφε, καὶ ἐν χερὶ δούρατος αἰχμήν,
> πότνα, καὶ ἐν πήχει κοῖλον ἔχουσα σάκος·
> ἡ δὲ σοὶ αἰτηθεῖσα τὸ λευχέανον κανόνισμα
> παρθένος Ἡγησὼ θῆκε γένος Μακέ[τη.

> Arsinoe, to you is dedicated this *bregma* of linen
> from Naucratis with folds to be caught by the wind,
> with which you, dear lady, in a dream wished to wipe your sweet sweat,[67]
> after ceasing from your sharp toils.
> You appeared, Philadelphus, holding a spear in your hand,
> Lady, and with a hollow shield on your arm.
> The girl, Hêgêsô, a Macedonian in lineage,
> at your request, dedicated this white strip (36 AB).

At first glance this could be read as a standard dedication by a young girl to a goddess, but several details militate against this: the girl only makes her dedication in response to Arsinoe's request; Arsinoe is armed; and the object is not a standard type. The key lies in the fact that it is a dream, which draws it firmly into the orbit of the preceding section, and also the nature of the dedication.

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[63] Arrian *An.*, 3.3–5–6 and Plutarch *Vit. Alex.*, 27.3–4.

[64] See, e.g. Fraser 1970.1.215–19; Stewart 1993, 221–5.

[65] Diodorus 18.26.1–28.4. For the burial in Egypt see Fraser 1970.2.31, n. 79.

[66] Fraser 1970.1.215–19.

[67] With respect to this phrase—γλυκὺν ἱδρῶ—Plutarch's comment on the εὐωδία of Alexander's skin and breath is noteworthy (*vit. Alex.*, 4.4–5). (I am endebted to B. Acosta-Hughes for this observation.)

It seems to be a strip of white linen (τὸ λευχέανον κανόνισμα) for the forehead—hence its designation as *bregma*—that catches the breeze in its folds. The previous two epigrams contained signs (Telmissan augurs, ravens) that could be related to omens of Alexander's conquest, divinity, and death. We should look in this same direction for clues in interpreting this first dedication to Arsinoe. Could the *bregma* be a disingenuous allusion to the *diadema*? Nothing in the poem overtly names the diadem, but the diadem *is* a strip of cloth worn across the forehead and tied behind with its ends often catching the breeze.

The Alexander historians recount how in Alexander's last days his diadem came off to be carried by the wind.[68] All accounts agree that it portended the end of his reign, though there is no consensus on who retrieved it. Claims were made that the man was Seleucus, and this indicated that he was the successor. The story of the diadem, like that of the Gordian knot or the trek to the Siwah, formed part of anecdotal lore surrounding Alexander's meteoric career, his demise, and the skirmish for succession. Alexander historians, with varying degrees of credibility and competing loyalties, incorporated and customized the stories to fit the altered circumstances of particular Successors. Ptolemy Soter in Egypt even wrote one such history himself. The girl, Hêgêsô, a substitute for Macedon, thus gives to the Ptolemies via the deified (thus no longer dangerous?) Arsinoe what they desire—legitimacy. This is the historical context in which the roll was created. Posidippus provides omens that *seem* to confirm the Ptolemies as the heirs of Alexander. But omens are not unambiguous; it is possible that they served an admonitory function—a warning about the fleeting nature of power—as well as a celebration of it.

[68] Arrian *An.*, 7.21.2–5. The diadem seems to have been used in Macedonian art to symbolize royal power. For example, in the Boscoreale frescoes, which are clearly based on Macedonian originals, an armed woman wears the *kausia* (Macedonian hat) and a diadem; at her feet sits a subdued woman wearing a crushed mitra. These figures are generally taken to be a personified Macedonia with her spear-won subject, Asia. (On the Boscoreale frescoes as images of Macedonian power, see Virgilio 2003, 76–85.) In Stephens (forthcoming) I discuss the relevance of the Boscoreale frescoes to the interpretation of 36 AB.

Conclusion

The discovery of this new roll does more than add to the corpus of a minor poet. The intertwining of poems on aesthetics with the traditional speaking stones of epitaphs and dedications is not unfamiliar from other epigram collections. The inclusion of omens that oscillate between the world of the ordinary individual, who struggles for guidance or insight, and often fails, and the world of the powerful, whose actions have consequence not only for themselves but also the common man, is unique. The parallel narratives of art and artistry, text and object, the lives of the 'small' as lived in the shadows of the great are familiar already in Hellenistic poetry, but the weaving of imperial lives and their manifest destinies into the fabric of the whole is new, and should require us to reevaluate the received wisdom.

Is Posidippus an aberration in his blending of art and politics? Or is this new find a reminder that the survival of other Hellenistic poetry, like the survival of its epigrams, depends on the tastes of later generations, who were not necessarily interested in the intricacies of imperial self-presentation? Perhaps it is also time to reevaluate Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius, as well as the more fragmentary poets, in light of Posidippus' art; to ask whether politics is as far removed from the center of their oeuvre as we have allowed it to be, or whether it is something we have merely been uninterested in seeing.

CHAPTER FOUR

REALISMO ED ECLETTISMO NELL'ARTE ALESSANDRINA

Nicola Bonacasa

La recente e bella mostra allestita a Berlino, 'Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit,' nel Martin Gropius Bau, da Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer (marzo-giugno 2002), ha riproposto temi solo in apparenza scontati, e tuttora della massima importanza. Sia che si guardi all'ideale greco 'classico', sia che si guardi al radicato concetto di 'classico' presso altre arti figurative—perseguito, certo, con esperienze svariate di repertorio e parametri stilistici diversi—sia anche che si guardi alla frequentazione che sotto forma di 'classicismo' tutte le espressioni d'arte colta hanno praticato in tempi di rivisitazione dell'antico.[1]

Corrono quasi esattamente tre secoli, dal 323 a.C., anno della morte improvvisa di Alessandro, quando la satrapia d'Egitto toccò a Tolemeo, figlio di Lago, sino al fatidico 30 a.C., l'anno in cui Cleopatra, ultima regina d'Egitto, si tolse la vita per non cadere nelle mani di Ottaviano; tre secoli durante i quali l'Egitto plurimillenario, sotto la dinastia dei Tolemei, visse l'ultimo ciclo della sua storia di paese autonomo. Se è vero che l'arrivo dei Tolemei salvò l'Egitto dalla estrema rovina,[2] cui il paese si avviava, già decaduto a possedimento dei re di Persia, è anche vero che un'altra dinastia straniera, un monarca greco assoluto e una minoranza di funzionari greci o grecizzati, guidò e assai spesso sfruttò il paese, tenendo gli indigeni in uno stato di inferiorità. Ma è innegabilmente vero che quella minoranza greca trasformò l'Egitto in un centro politico e culturale di primissimo piano. E se l'Egitto ellenistico non realizzò l'ambizioso sogno del Macedone di vedere fusi Oriente e Occidente, è vero anche che i Tolemei non tennero ad apparire in veste di conquistatori,

[1] Per lo studio di questi fenomeni della cultura artistica greco-romana, occidentale, il ricco 'catalogo' (edito da Ph. von Zabern, Mainz a. R., 2002), denso di contributi, è forse la più aggiornata proposta oggi circolante.

[2] Fraser 1972, 189 ss., 197, 584, 618 ss., 672–673, 717 ss.; Adriani 1972b, 5–13.

ma bensì di monarchi legittimi, di nuovi Faraoni. Tanto più dopo la decisiva battaglia di Raphia del 217 a.C., in cui le sorti della dinastia egiziana, nella lunga lotta contro i Seleucidi, furono quasi salvate per opera delle truppe indigene.[3] Con la nuova politica di apertura verso la 'chora,' inaugurata da Tolemeo IV dopo Raphia, possiamo legittimamente parlare di 'nazione' egiziana.

I Tolemei, come eredi dei Faraoni, dovettero favorire col tempo il prosperare dell'arte indigena. Ma Alessandria fu e rimase, nello stesso tempo, come un'entità artistico-culturale greca a se stante: anche sotto il regno di Tolemeo IV si potrebbe rilevare un notevole interesse della corte, nella capitale e nelle città del Delta, verso l'arte di matrice ellenica.[4] Mentre, assai diversa, in Egitto, fu la generale situazione dei centri minori e dell'immenso retroterra tolemaico e romano. La fondazione di Alessandria ha determinato un valido e duraturo fenomeno di trapianto dell'arte greca in Egitto e, durante il suo sviluppo, quest'arte ha originato uno stile misto, greco-egizio e poi tardo-alessandrino, che è il prodotto più genuino delle forme di contatto e trasformazione delle due culture.[5] Fatto sta che il mutamento della politica interna della corte tolemaica, dopo la vittoriosa battaglia di Raphia, è uno dei moventi, non il solo, ma certo uno dei più importanti, che ha originato il radicale mutamento dell'indirizzo artistico, affermatosi in Egitto agli inizi del II sec. a.C., con l'incentivazione di un'arte ufficiale e privata di stile misto e di una produzione artigianale greco-egizia. Riprendendo, con nuovi argomenti, il vecchio giudizio critico di I. Noshy,[6] sulla piena autonomia, anzi sulla dicotomia, della produzione egiziana e di quella greca in età tolemaica, letture diverse da quelle comuni ci sembrano quelle proposte, nel 1988, da R. Bianchi e in parte da R.S. Bagnall,[7] e, ancora, nel 1993, dallo stesso Bianchi e da Andrew Stewart.[8] Malgrado queste posizioni negative di autorevoli studiosi, noi, con molti altri, continuiamo a ritenere che nel quadro composito dell'arte ellenistico-

[3] Adriani 1972b, 10–11; Peremans 1983, 92 ss.; Bonacasa 1988, 137 ss.; Bonacasa 1995, 67 ss.

[4] Grimm 1998, 37 ss., 99 ss.; Ghisellini 1999, 122–123, 129 ss.

[5] Adriani 1970, 72 ss.; Adriani 1972b, 47 ss., 64–66; Fraser 1972, 60 s., 75, 78 ss., 81 s., 86 s., 295 s., 300, 802 s.; Bothmer 1988, 47 ss.; Bothmer 1996, 215 ss.; Empereur (ed.) 1998, 146 ss. (M.D. Nenna), 170 ss. (A. Charron).

[6] Noshy 1937, 83–97.

[7] Bianchi 1988, 55 ss.; Bagnall 1988, 21 ss.

[8] Bianchi 1996, 191 ss.; Stewart 1996, 231 ss.

romana, la produzione alessandrina e dell'Egitto tolemaico ha assunto una sua propria autonoma fisionomia,[9] rispetto agli altri grandi centri ellenistici del Mediterraneo, ed ha certamente esercitato il suo influsso anche fuori dell'Egitto, senza dubbio e con continuità sul mondo romano.

Ed è bene tenere presente questa situazione particolare dell'Egitto quando si affronta il tema dell'arte alessandrina. Insomma, la oramai universalmente riconosciuta doppia politica dei Tolemei, di capillare ellenizzazione del paese e di mantenimento delle antiche usanze e dei culti tradizionali, non poteva che conseguire soltanto dei compromessi di livello ideologico e di livello artistico.

Il nostro intento è quello di indagare due degli aspetti più rilevanti dell'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano,[10] e di Alessandria in particolare: quello realistico, novità questa da sempre riconosciuta, alle botteghe d'arte alessandrine, e quello eclettico, di tradizione attica, legato alle innovazioni del IV sec. a.C.[11] E, mentre il realismo sviluppa temi e stili sperimentali, vincolati a necessità espressive di alcuni ceti, al contrario, i segni e il linguaggio dell'eclettismo ripropongono settori di repertorio accreditati e diffusi secondo le maniere tradizionali, e, alla fine, quest'ultimo linguaggio si rivela di più ampio respiro. Soltanto questo può giustificare, per esempio, in terra d'Egitto, il persistere di temi e di maniere stilistiche che è possibile identificare e seguire dall'Ellenismo fino alla produzione delle stoffe copte.[12]

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Incominciamo con il tema certo più accattivante e più noto, quello del 'realismo.' È bene ricordare che i soggetti di genere ed i tipi realistici, caricaturali e grotteschi, si incominciarono a conoscere veramente nella letteratura archeologica europea nel 1885, quando di alcuni di essi, conservati nella Collezione Dimitriou del Museo Nazionale di Atene (figs. 1–2), si interessò Theodor Schreiber.[13]

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[9] Adriani 1946, *passim*; Adriani 1948, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 218–235; Adriani 1970, 29–32; Bothmer 1996, 215 ss.; Pfrommer 1999, 53 ss., 78 ss., 93 ss.

[10] Adriani 1958, 220–226; Adriani 1970, 29–30; Adriani 1972b, 47–66; Ghisellini 1999, 129–140.

[11] Adriani 1946, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 222–224; Ghisellini 1999, 129 ss.

[12] Guerrini 1957, *passim*; Guerrini 1959, 810 ss., 819; Grabar 1980, 323–336; Volbach 1980, 786–800.

[13] Schreiber 1885, 380–391.

Il 'panalessandrinismo' ingiustificato dello Schreiber assegnava ogni categoria della produzione realistica ad Alessandria. Noi sappiamo che l'amore per i soggetti realistici e di genere nella statuaria di grande modulo—tutte sculture accattivanti e di lusso, richieste da una committenza ellenistico-romana esigente ed a noi pervenute attraverso copie romane spesso di rilevante qualità—è documentato sì dal filone alessandrino, ma esso è soltanto un aspetto e forse neppure il principale, tra le rappresentazioni scultoree realistiche e di genere dell'Ellenismo.

Del resto, la più recente letteratura archeologica, che è ben lontana dal 'panalessandrinismo' dello Schreiber—da Adriani (1963–1982), a Badawy (1965), a Balil (1966), a Elvira Barba (1977), alla Bayer (1983), a Bonacasa (1983, 1996), al Cèbe (1966), alla Dunbabin (1986), alla Fischer (1994, 1998), a Himmelmann (1980, 1983), a Laubscher (1982), a Nachtergael (1985), alla Pinghiatoglou (1993), alla Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1984), a Schmidt (1997), a Stevenson III (1975), a Török (1995)—la più recente letteratura archeologica, dicevo, ha fornito nel complesso risposte positive sul ruolo giocato da Alessandria per la formazione di questa corrente artistica specializzata, i cui documenti spesso eterogenei e anche modesti, riflettono un mondo estremamente vario e contraddittorio, il mondo, appunto, che era nato nella terra millenaria dei Faraoni, dopo la fondazione di Alessandria.[14]

A questo punto del nostro discorso, conviene accennare assai brevemente alla questione dei soggetti di genere nella scultura di grande modulo. Il problema dell'origine, del significato e della diffusione di questi curiosi prodotti è stato più volte affrontato di recente e con buoni risultati, che in molta parte io condivido, da Himmelmann (1980, 1983), da Laubscher (1982) e dalla Bayer (1983),[15] e, in anni più recenti, da altri studiosi: Pollit (1986), Wrede (1988 e 1991),

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[14] Adriani 1963, 80–92; Adriani 1965, 37–62; Adriani 1966a, 5–21; Adriani 1978, 119–131; Adriani 1982, 569–573; Badawy 1965, 189–198; Balil 1966, 409–59; Elvira Barba 1977, 299–319; Bayer 1983, 11 ss., 177 ss.; Bonacasa 1983, 137–143; Bonacasa 1996, 85–95; Cèbe 1966, 345 ss., 354 ss., 377 ss.; Dunbabin 1986, 185 ss.; Fischer 1994, 211; Fischer 1998, 327–361; Himmelmann 1980, 90 ss.; Himmelmann 1983, 19–24, 59 ss.; Laubscher 1982, 59–84; Nachtergael 1985, 223–239; Pinghiatoglou 1993, 44, 171; Rosenbaum 1984, 378–390; Schmidt 1997, 9 ss., 25–29; Stevenson III 1975, *passim*; Török 1995, 59–60, 143–167.

[15] Laubscher 1982, 59–84; Bayer 1983, 11 ss., 177 ss.; Himmelmann 1980, 83 ss., 109 ss., *passim*; Himmelmann 1983, 19–24, 59 ss.; Moreno 1994, I, 345–350; II, 719–726.

Pfisterer-Haas (1989), Ridgway (1990), Stewart (1990), Moreno (1994), Seif El-Din (2002).[16] Inoltre, su alcuni aspetti di questa produzione scultorea (fig. 3), io stesso mi sono già espresso con un vecchio articolo presentato in *Archeologia Classica* 12, 1960, sulla rivista *Libya Antiqua* 15–16, 1978–79, nel primo volume degli 'Studi in onore di A. Adriani,' che è del 1983, nel 1988 al XIII Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica a Berlino, e, infine, a Siracusa, nel 1996, al Convegno Internazionale 'Archeologia e papiri nel Fayyum'.[17]

Mentre non v'è alcun dubbio che motivi artistici, espressioni formali e gusti dell'arte ellenistica si universalizzano, è vero, altresì, che nel comune clima culturale del tempo, nell'ampio quadro della *koiné* artistica dell'Ellenismo, le differenze delle singole 'parlate locali' si colgono e si possono rilevare utilmente nella produzione dei vari centri. Quella delle figure di 'genere' è senza alcun dubbio una categoria coltivata con notevole fortuna ad Alessandria. Sarà sufficiente ricordare alcuni tipi statuari quasi tutti connessi con originali alessandrini, per esempio: il Vecchio Pescatore del Museo dei Conservatori, il Pescatore della Galleria dei Candelabri al Vaticano (fig. 4), il cui tipo è replicato pure dall'esemplare del Museo di Siracusa, il Vecchio Pescatore del Museo del Louvre (fig. 5), che servì da modello a Rubens per il 'Seneca morente,' la Vecchia Contadina del Metropolitan Museum di New York, la Vecchia Pastora del Museo dei Conservatori (fig. 6), il Contadino del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria d'Egitto.[18]

Fatto sta che la tipologia sicuramente alessandrina di alcuni accattivanti soggetti di genere nella scultura di grande modulo sembra assai contenuta, anche se raffinata, e rientra nel composito mondo alessandrino, nel cosmopolitismo della capitale, al pari di quella di altri centri ellenistici.[19] Tuttavia, è questa l'occasione per precisare

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[16] Pollit 1986, 286 ss., *passim*; Bonacasa 1983, 129–130; Bonacasa 1988, 141–143; Wrede 1988, 97–114; Wrede 1991, 164–188; Pfisterer-Haas 1989, 17 ss., 69 ss., 78 ss.; Ridgway 1990, 313–348; Stewart 1990, 216 ss.; Moreno 1994, I, 345–350; II, 719–726; Seif El-Din 2002, 139–147.

[17] Bonacasa 1960, 170 ss.; Bonacasa 1978–79, 89 ss.; Bonacasa 1983, I, 125 ss.; Bonacasa 1988, 137 ss.; Bonacasa 1996, ss.

[18] Laubscher 1982, *passim*; Bayer 1983, *passim*; Himmelmann 1980, *passim*; Bonacasa 1983, I, 125–130; Bonacasa 1988, 137–143; Moreno 1994, I, 345–350; II, 719–726; Bonacasa 1996, 85–95. Tutti con ampia bibliografia.

[19] Adriani 1972b, 50–58; Adriani 1946, *passim*; Adriani 1948, *passim*; Adriani 1959, *passim*.

che codesta corrente d'arte è stata spesso accomunata e confusa con i soggetti analoghi della piccola plastica in bronzo (tav. II, 15–16) e in terracotta, genuini rappresentanti, come abbiamo accennato, della cultura artistica greco-egizia.

E, comunque, il significato autentico del realismo alessandrino e greco-egizio va ricercato nel campo vastissimo delle cosiddette arti minori, quando raffigurano impietosamente uno spaccato ironico e a volte brutale della società alessandrina ed egiziana, che hanno trovato la via per esprimersi nel campo delle raffigurazioni realistiche minori con una parlata autonoma e originale. Sono le manifestazioni di una corrente d'arte popolaresca, ironica, ispirata dalla realtà quotidiana, che ama rappresentare l'uomo e le piccole cose che lo circondano, che racconta la vita sul fiume, la natura e gli animali che lo popolano. Ora, qui, il diffuso gusto ellenistico per la ricerca minuziosa si assomma al gusto per l'osservazione spietata del composito mondo alessandrino, affollato di nubiani (fig. 7), etiopi, schiavi negri (figs. 8 and 11), asiatici, indiani, gobbi, pigmei, buffoni, danzatori (figs. 9–10), musici, giocolieri, piccoli mestieranti, rivenduglioli, lampionai (fig. 12), raccoglitori di datteri (fig. 13), Galli (fig. 14), figure scheletriche o deformi, spesso piccoli capolavori del realismo antico, soprattutto nella bronzistica, attraverso una vivace interpretazione realistica ed a volte perfino grottesca, che era già stata caratteristica dell'antica arte egizia.[20]

Spesso, in mancanza di prove certe sulla provenienza di molti di questi prodotti, e senza alcuna ipotesi plausibile circa le associazioni ed i contesti, noi possiamo soltanto classificare le varie tipologie e tentare giudizi stilistici comparativi. Ma è bene ricordare che questa accattivante produzione popolaresca costituì come un repertorio inesauribile, come un mondo ricco di ispirazioni e di suggestioni, per quella che possiamo definire produzione contemporanea di alto livello, specialmente nella bronzistica. Poiché non è ammissibile, con ragionevolezza, un percorso inverso. Si vennero così a determinare due livelli qualitativi, di diversa destinazione, l'uno popolaresco e l'altro colto, che, malgrado le analogie di repertorio e certe affinità di stile, sarebbe errore metodologico assai grave iscrivere in un unico filone.

[20] Adriani 1972b, 66–68, 156–170; Himmelmann 1983, 59 ss.; Bonacasa 1988, 140–142.

Osserviamola, dunque, più da vicino questa produzione realistica e di 'genere,' di qualità, questo variopinto repertorio di tipi etnici che animavano la vita di ogni giorno nella capitale tolemaica: il Nubiano Venditore di strada con scimmietta, da Alessandria alla Collezione Dimitriou del Museo Nazionale di Atene; il Fanciullo Nubiano di basalto, da Alessandria alla Collezione Dimitriou del Museo Nazionale di Atene; il Cantante Nubiano di bronzo, già Collezione Caylus, della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi; il Trio dei bronzetti di Mahdià, le due danzatrici e il buffone danzatore, al Museo del Bardo a Tunisi; e, finalmente, i quattro esemplari bronzei del *Placentarius*, da Via dell'Abbondanza a Pompei, al Museo Nazionale di Napoli.[21]

Ecco, ora siamo entrati in contatto con il 'genere,' la caricatura ed il grottesco tipicamente alessandrini. Un rilevante settore della produzione colta che si spingerà ben presto, nel medio e nell'ultimo Ellenismo, verso i tipi scheletriformi indulgendo con estremo e dotto compiacimento alla descrizione dell'uomo come relitto, dello scheletro come individuo, della caducità umana come raffinato *memento mori*. È la conseguenza definitiva e fatalmente logica delle mutate condizioni di vita, del mutato equilibrio culturale, del mutato spirito dell'arte.[22]

Fatto sta che l'artista dell'Ellenismo, sempre alla ricerca di nuovi temi, guarda alla ripresa delle scene dal vero quasi come ad un nuovo metodo inventivo, ricorre alla eccitazione e alla commozione dei sensi ma impantanandosi nella retorica del simbolo. Per prima cosa egli si impossessa della cultura figurativa artigianale per trasformarla in élite artistica, in ornamento elegante e piacevole, denso di inventiva ma gratuito. È lecito parlare, dunque, di una vera e propria espropriazione da parte dell'arte colta di temi iconografici e di tendenze stilistiche che erano patrimonio dell'artigianato greco e perciò cultura delle classi subalterne.[23]

Codeste numerose esigenze figurative, tipiche della produttività artigianale, si affermano e resistono a lungo nell'Egitto ellenistico. Com'è ovvio, tale fenomeno di continuità e di autonomia è distintivo delle classi subalterne, ed esso si contrappone, per ampiezza e

[21] Bonacasa 1983, 128–129; Bonacasa 1988, 137–143.
[22] Bonacasa 1983, 129–130; Bonacasa 1988, 141–143.
[23] Bonacasa 1983, 130; Bonacasa 1988, 141–142.

per significato, all'isolamento urbano e commerciale dei prodotti di élite, al servizio della grande committenza e del monarca.[24]

Possiamo affermare, ormai, che la genesi e la funzione storica di questa corrente d'arte, che è il risultato di un incontro, sulle sponde del Nilo, fra Grecia ed Egitto, vanno ricercate nella società e nella cultura greca formatasi e trasformatasi a contatto con l'Egitto, come già da tempo hanno sostenuto e dimostrato A. Adriani ed A.M. Badawy.[25] Sotto questo aspetto, l'arte alessandrina costituisce, rispetto alla cultura figurativa dell'Ellenismo, un momento di incontrastata originalità.

Quando codesto fenomeno abbia avuto inizio non è facile dire con precisione. Certo è che prima della metà del II sec. a.C., tranne qualche caso isolato, non abbiamo nell'Egitto ellenistico prove concrete dell'avvio di questa interessante produzione di alto artigianato artistico, che appare tuttavia diffusa già al tempo dei significativi ritrovamenti di Ras el-Soda.[26]

Per quanto riguarda la sua diffusione, noi riteniamo che uno dei moventi, non il solo, ma certo uno dei più importanti, sia stato il mutamento della politica interna della corte tolemaica dopo la battaglia di Raphia (217 a.C.). E lo abbiamo già ricordato. Due aspetti sintomatici del mutato rapporto tra Greci-Alessandrini ed Egiziani, fin dal regno di Tolemeo IV Filopatore (221–203 a.C.), sono il relativo incremento di un'arte ufficiale di stile misto, greco-egizio, anche nel ritratto, e la certa incoronazione del 196 a.C. di Tolemeo V Epifane come Faraone.

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Abbiamo parlato abbastanza del 'realismo' alessandrino. Ci tocca ora affrontare la seconda parte del nostro tema, il significato ed il valore della corrente 'eclettica.' Per ragioni di tempo, e anche di rilevanza dei reperti, limiteremo la nostra breve indagine alla scultura.

Dobbiamo riconoscere, anche a confronto con il 'realismo' di cui abbiamo discusso, che le definizioni di 'sfumato,' di 'pittoricismo,' di 'impressionismo,' di 'abbozzo' risultano altrettanto note per la scultura di Alessandria.[27] Al contrario, meno o poco nota è la matrice

[24] Bonacasa 1983, 126–127, 129–130; Bonacasa 1988, 141–143.
[25] Adriani 1952, 28 ss., 32–46; Badawy 1965, 189 ss.
[26] Adriani 1952, 28–46; Himmelmann 1983, 47–48; Bonacasa 1988, 142.
[27] Adriani 1958, 220–224; Adriani 1972b, 53–60, 64 ss.

classica e l'eredità del 'classico' riscontrabili in codesti fenomeni. Sia come tradizione dei filoni culturali del IV sec. a.C., sia, poi, come rivisitazione 'neoclassica' del passato, sia, e di più, come sperimentazione nuova, di gusto 'eclettico.'[28]

Malgrado l'esigua consistenza dei monumenti superstiti della grande plastica alessandrina, precise e testimoniate sono le scelte della committenza e delle botteghe di Alessandria e dei centri del Delta. Nella scultura, sono vive le eredità delle tre grandi correnti artistiche del IV secolo, scopadea, prassitelica e lisippea, con particolare predilezione per le prime due costantemente applicate nelle opere di destinazione ufficiale, civili o religiose, e anche nella plastica a carattere privato e funerario; mentre un'eco sottesa della terza corrente, quella lisippea, ci viene da alcuni filoni della ritrattistica ufficiale tolemaica.[29] Nella produzione del ritratto dei dinasti lagidi si coglie una continua, approfondita e composita ricerca naturalistica, che non rinuncia né al fare spregiudicato e atettonico nelle effigi maschili, né alla ricerca aulica e raffinata, soprattutto nei ritratti femminili.

I numerosi ritratti greco-egizi, scolpiti nelle pietre tradizionali della scultura egiziana, sono espressione di un eclettismo assai colto e vanno attribuiti ad epoca ellenistico-romana, tranne qualcuno che potrebbe risalire ad età saitica, e in essi la componente greca è determinante e vitale. Inoltre, le singolari affinità che alcuni gruppi di questi ritratti presentano col ritratto romano di età repubblicana hanno posto il problema di influssi egizio-alessandrini sul nascente ritratto della repubblica.[30]

Possiamo affermare, dunque, che committenza e botteghe d'arte si sono espresse nel senso più tradizionale possibile, per almeno i primi 120–130 anni di vita dell'Egitto ellenistico, per via di una decisa presenza di artisti attici, in parte trasferitisi in Egitto in seguito al rigido dettato del decreto di Demetrio Falereo, emesso ad Atene nel 317 a.C., contro il lusso dei sepolcri. Inoltre, assume tenace valore di documento quel gusto per il pittoricismo sfumato, che nel lontano 1897 fu magistralmente riconosciuto da Walter Amelung alla plastica alessandrina,[31] costituendo una delle prove irrefutabili di una

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[28] Adriani 1959, 37 ss.; Adriani 1970, 29–32; Adriani 1972b, 53–60; Ghisellini 1999, 107 ss., 129 ss.

[29] Adriani 1946, *passim*; Adriani 1948, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 220–224; Adriani 1972b, 53–56; Ghisellini 1999, 129 ss.

[30] Adriani 1972a, 72 ss.; Bothmer 1988, 47 ss.

[31] Amelung 1897, 110 ss., 138–140.

tradizione maturatasi localmente. Altra caratteristica tipica delle botteghe alessandrine è il frequente ricorso ad un linguaggio stilistico spregiudicato, amante dell'atettonicità, del modellare ad abbozzo, per cui il 'non finito,' trascurando l'organicità dell'insieme, punta sull'effetto dei particolari spesso anche completati in gesso.[32] Più difficile e meno lineare si fa il discorso quand'è rivolto alla categoria delle sculture ideali e celebrative, spesso di grande qualità stilistica ma sempre disunite, e realizzate per monumenti a noi sconosciuti, eppure ricche di una sottile vena di eclettismo, come il gruppo di statue monumentali, scolpite nel marmo, dai Quartieri Reali di Alessandria,[33] del III–II sec. a.C., forse resti di due frontoni, o come l'imponente ed enfatico complesso di sculture in tenero calcare locale del Serapeo di Memfi,[34] espressione di un indirizzo barocco del II secolo avanzato, o, ancora, come la veemente e spregiudicata testa del Gallo di Ghizeh,[35] opera da considerare isolata per intrinseche qualità di stile e del tutto singolare per il modellato ad abbozzo e per l'atettonicità, e la meritatamente famosa testa femminile patetica dal Serapeo,[36] dei primi decenni del II secolo, che si impone per il pittoricismo sfumato, per la magistrale sensibilità della forma, per il raffinato contenuto dell'espressione, e, infine, la spiccata individualità della grande testa femminile con boccoli calamistrati[37]—dello'inoltrato II sec. a.C.—opera di possente struttura tettonica, che tuttavia indulge con singolare eclettismo all'animazione del volto, tramite il modellato pieno e molle delle gote e della bocca. In quest'ultima, come nelle due statue maschili dai Quartieri Reali, in particolare, e nell'enfatico gruppo di statue in calcare di Memfi, il ricorso al fare eclettico, sia nella scelta di repertorio sia nella raffinata maniera stilistica, è del tutto palese.

Approfondendo il nostro discorso su questo aspetto particolare della scultura alessandrina, vale la pena ricordare altri esempi assai significativi della corrente eclettica. Dalle stele funerarie certo ese-

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[32] Adriani 1972b, 51–52; Bonacasa 1966, 524–526; Grimm 1974, *passim*; Walker-Bierbrier 1997, 149 ss., 157 ss.

[33] Adriani 1946, *passim*; Adriani 1972b, 57–58, 133 ss.; Ghisellini 1999, 129 ss.

[34] Picard-Lauer 1956, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 220–221; Adriani 1972b, 59–60.

[35] Adriani 1946, 31 ss.; Adriani 1972b, 58–59, 136–137; Grimm-Johannes 1975, 4, 17 (n. 7); Grimm-Wildung 1979, 115.

[36] Adriani 1972b, 53–54, 137; Grimm-Wildung 1979, 114.

[37] Adriani 1948, 5 ss.; Adriani 1972b, 60, 138–139; Grimm-Wildung 1979, 128.

guite sul posto da artisti attici,[38] al famoso *Dodekatheon* del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria,[39] ad alcune severe teste di Serapide dello stesso Museo,[40] a diversi monumenti perfino della ritrattistica, ai tipi molteplici di Iside, Arpocrate, Nilo, Euthenia, Afrodite, Ninfe e Muse,[41] dalle terracotte isiache alle famose 'tanagrine,' e, infine, agli esili bronzetti di sacerdoti isiaci. In queste opere sono presenti, insieme ad echi dei temi patetici scopadei e del pittoricismo sfumato di tradizione prassitelica, maniere ricercate di un eclettismo elegante e individuale, e gli stessi principi ispiratori sono pure ripresi da alcune sculture ideali della fine del II e del I sec. a.C., come il notissimo gruppo di testine da Tell Timai al Cairo.[42]

Infine, a proposito dei ritratti anche ufficiali, conviene precisare che alcuni di essi, realizzati da officine alessandrine poco prima o dopo Raphia (217 a.C.), denotano un misto di realismo e di accademismo, che sono gli esiti di due condizioni, una nuova per assimilazione della cultura artistica dell'Egitto e l'altra ereditata dalla Grecia. Mi riferisco, in particolare, alle effigi di Tolemeo III Evergete, Tolemeo IV Filopatore e Tolemeo V Epifane, ed ai ritratti delle regine Arsinoe II e III e Berenice II.[43]

Molto più complessa è la ricerca nell'ambito del repertorio delle terrecotte, dei piccoli bronzi e delle argenterie, dove però l'iterazione di un repertorio fortunato e tradizionale tramanda scene e decorazioni gradite ed a lungo circolanti fino al I sec. a.C.[44] Arriviamo, così, al vasto e fortunato repertorio classicistico delle stoffe copte, perentorio e dilagante fino alla tarda antichità, come un palinsesto ricco di eredità classiche e di rivisitazioni di gusto eclettico.[45]

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[38] Adriani 1958, 220; Adriani 1972b, 50–52, 127–128; Grimm-Wildung 1979, 103–105; Ghisellini 1999, 122–140.

[39] Adriani 1972b, 53, 127; Ghisellini, 1999, 13–95.

[40] Adriani 1961, 41–50.

[41] Adriani 1961, 39–40, 52–61.

[42] Edgar 1903, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 223–224; Adriani 1972b, 59, 143–144; Grimm-Johannes 1975, 4, 9, 18 (nn. 8–10).

[43] Adriani 1958, 223; Adriani 1972b, 62–63, 144–147; Kyrieleis 1975, *passim*; Brunelle 1976, *passim*.

[44] Adriani 1939, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 229–230; Adriani 1959, *passim*; Adriani 1970, 30–31; Adriani 1972b, 66–68, 164–170; Grimm-Wildung 1979, 118; Pfrommer 1987, 75 ss., 86 ss., 92 ss.; Pfrommer 1990, 119 ss., 135 ss., 160 ss., 340–341, 359–360, *passim*; Formigli-Heilmeyer 1990, *passim*.

[45] Guerrini 1957, *passim*; Guerrini 1959, 810 ss., 819; Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, 277 ss., 291–295; Grabar 1980, 323–336; Volbach 1980, 786–800.

Nel fervore delle nuove invenzioni dell'Ellenismo, anche in parte riconosciute ad Alessandria, una sola voce autorevole, quella di Achille Adriani, ha identificato e classificato l'area culturale dello 'eclettismo' nell'Egitto greco-romano. Così, alla fine, nell'ambito della produzione d'arte alessandrina, la definizione ha finito col perdere quel sapore negativo che essa ha sempre in ogni settore delle arti figurative in cui si appalesa. E, simpatie a parte, non va dimenticato che una tale tendenza nasce in genere dalla profonda versatilità di una forma artistica e dal suo possente radicamento in una società.[46]

Avviamoci alla conclusione. Dei due percorsi culturali, seguiti dall'arte alessandrina, e da noi qui sommariamente schizzati, solo il primo, quello del 'realismo,' ma perdendo la sua iniziale genuinità, si affermò con il suo vasto repertorio figurativo di soggetto e di gusto greco-egizio e si diffuse ampiamente nel mondo romano a partire dalla prima metà del I sec. a.C. in coincidenza con l'introduzione prepotente dei culti egizi e delle mode artistiche egiziane in Italia.[47]

Ma anche il raffinato e composito eclettismo augustèo fece tesoro delle esperienze alessandrine, limitatamente nella decorazione architettonica e nella scultura ufficiale, ma soprattutto nel rilievo, nella pittura e nelle argenterie, fino a ripeterne schemi tipologici e maniere stilistiche. Giustamente, dietro agli spunti che animano codeste imitazioni e rivisitazioni romane, l'Adriani ha postulato e in parte ricostruito l'esistenza di un'arte-modello alessandrina,[48] certo più spontanea, più efficace e di più alta qualità, maturatasi nello spirito e nella tradizione dell'arte faraonica, di cui ancora rivivono i principali motivi di repertorio ed i più salienti caratteri stilistici.

L'Egitto greco-romano, dunque, che rimase solo ai margini del mondo classico propriamente detto, di questo grande fenomeno del 'classico' fu interprete e tramite, anche verso la cultura artistica romana, per mezzo del suo spiccato gusto 'classicistico' e delle sue eleganti mode 'eclettiche.'

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[46] Adriani 1946, *passim*; Adriani 1948, *passim*; Adriani 1958, 218–222; Becatti 1940, 1 ss., *passim*; Bianchi Bandinelli 1960, 1050–1053; Ghisellini, 1999, 107 ss.

[47] Bonacasa 1988, 143; Cèbe 1966, 377–379; De Vos 1980, 75–95.

[48] Adriani 1972b, 78 ss., 85 ss., 164–172, 184 ss.

CHAPTER FIVE

LES HIÉROTHYTES ALEXANDRINS: UNE MAGISTRATURE GRECQUE DANS LA CAPITALE LAGIDE*

Fabienne Burkhalter

Il y a maintenant un siècle qu'un lot considérable de papyrus provenant d'Alexandrie fut découvert par une expédition allemande à Abousir el Meleq, l'antique Bousiris du nome Héracléopolite. Ces documents, qui avaient été réutilisés comme cartonnages de momies à 300 kilomètres de leur lieu d'origine, furent publiés par W. Schubart en 1912.[1] Deux papyrus inédits qui faisaient partie du même lot ont été retrouvés récemment dans les réserves du Musée de Berlin. Le plus spectaculaire est une *synchôrèsis*, datée de 33 av. J.-C. et peut-être signée de la main de Cléopâtre VII elle-même, qui énumère les privilèges fiscaux accordés par la reine au général de Marc Antoine, Publius Canidius.[2] L'autre document est un contrat de mariage,[3] daté de 12 avant J.-C., qui jette une nouvelle lumière sur la question controversée de l'origine et de la fonction des hiérothytes alexandrins.

Les papyrus alexandrins retrouvés dans les momies d'Abousir el Meleq proviennent du bureau d'un juriste alexandrin, qui rédigeait des documents officiels ou privés à l'intention de ses clients: contrats, requêtes, et parfois même lettres. Comme la plupart de ces documents sont à l'état de brouillons, on a pensé avec raison qu'il s'agissait des vieux papiers de ce bureau, qui avaient été vendus à un embaumeur quand ils étaient devenus inutiles. Parmi ces vieux papiers

* Je remercie le Prof. W. Harris et les organisateurs du colloque pour leur invitation. Je remercie également le Prof. Bagnall et Raffaella Cribiore de m'avoir permis de consulter le *P.Col.Zen.* II 120 dans la Rare Book and Manuscript Library de la Butler Library (Columbia University).

[1] *BGU* IV, *passim.* Pour un commentaire historique approfondi de ces documents, cf. Schubart 1913, 35–131.

[2] *P.Bing.* 45, qui a déjà donné lieu à une ample bibliographie.

[3] Brashear 1996, 367–384.

figuraient huit contrats de mariage et deux actes de divorce datés de l'époque d'Auguste (entre 24 et 4 av. J.-C.).[4] Ces documents, qui sont tous des *synchôrèseis*, sont adressés aux présidents de deux *kritèria* ou tribunaux alexandrins devant desquels ils devaient être présentés pour être validés: le premier *kritèrion*, dont la situation topographique n'est pas précisée, était dirigé par Prôtarchos; l'autre, qui était situé "dans le Palais" (τὸ ἐν τῆι αὐλῆι κριτήριον), l'était par Achaios.[5]

Ces contrats de mariage constituent notre principale source d'information sur les hiérothytes alexandrins: ils contiennent une clause selon laquelle les deux conjoints s'engageaient mutuellement à conclure un nouveau contrat de mariage devant les hiérothytes, quand un des deux époux le demanderait à l'autre.

Jusqu'à présent, un seul document nous indiquait clairement le contenu de ce futur "contrat de mariage devant les hiérothytes," intitulé *syngraphè synoikesiou* ou *peri gamou sungraphè*: en plus de la dot, et des clauses habituelles, il contiendrait les dispositions testamentaires des conjoints:

> θέσθα̣ι̣ [δ]ὲ
> αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἱεροθυτῶν περὶ γάμου
> συνγραφὴν ἐν ἡμέραις χρηματιζούσαις πέντε
> ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀλλήλοις προείπωσι̣ν̣ καθ' ἣν ἐνγραφήσεται ἥ τε φερνὴ καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἐν ἔθει ὄντα καὶ
> τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁποτέρου τῶν γαμούντων τελευτῆς, ᾧ ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ κοινῶς κριθῆ̣ι̣.

> "ils dresseront et déposeront[6] également la *syngraphé* de mariage (qu'on établit) devant les *hiérothytes*, dans les cinq jours ouvrables à partir de celui où ils l'auront notifié l'un à l'autre, où seront inscrites la dot et les autres choses habituelles, ainsi que les dispositions concernant le décès de l'un et l'autre des conjoints, conformément à la décision qu'ils auront prise en commun le moment venu."
>
> *BGU* IV, 1050, 24–30 (avec Wilcken *APF* 3: 510)

[4] Contrats de mariage: *BGU* IV, 1050–2; 1098–1101; P.Berol. 25423 (Brashear 1996); contrats de divorce: *BGU* IV, 1102–1103.

[5] Pour l'identification et le statut de ces tribunaux, cf. Schubart 1913, 58–60; Brashear (1996, 378 n. 1) confond les deux *kritèria*, et pense à tort que Prôtarchos dirigeait le "*kritèrion* qui se trouvait à l'intérieur du Palais royal."

[6] Pestman (1985, 21) a relevé que τίθεσθαι signifie généralement dresser ("to draw up") un contrat, et qu'il n'a le sens de "déposer" que dans le cas des contrats à six témoins qui sont "déposés" auprès du *syngraphophylax*; c'est le sens qu'il a ici, où il désigne à la fois l'établissement et le dépôt du contrat.

Le papyrus de Berlin publié récemment développe de façon plus précise les clauses de cette future *syngraphè sunoikesiou* établie devant les hiérothytes, et confirme ce que certains préféraient considérer comme un hapax, c'est-à-dire qu'elle contiendrait le testament des époux, en plus des conventions matrimoniales fixées dans la *synchôrèsis* de mariage.[7]

Les contrats de mariage alexandrins sont pratiquement les seuls documents qui nous renseignent sur les hiérothytes de la capitale. Ces magistrats sont également cités dans un décret d'époque hellénistique—considéré par certains comme un décret royal et par d'autres comme un décret de la *boulè* de Ptolémaïs—dont quelques extraits sont conservés sur un papyrus d'époque romaine provenant du Fayoum.[8] Ces extraits, sans doute compilés en vue d'un procès, contiennent des lois relatives au divorce. Mais le document est très mutilé et le passage qui se réfère aux hiérothytes, qui est loin d'être clair, ne peut être automatiquement rapproché des contrats de mariage alexandrins.[9]

Les documents qui mentionnent explicitement les hiérothytes alexandrins sont donc peu nombreux et relativement homogènes, dans la mesure où ils se réfèrent tous au mariage et au divorce. Mais ils ne suffisent pas pour comprendre le rôle et le statut de ces personnages dans la capitale lagide. Les hypothèses qui ont été avancées à leur propos sont extrêmement contradictoires. Pour les résumer brièvement, et de façon certainement trop schématique, les hiérothytes sont considérés par les uns comme des prêtres grecs, et de tradition grecque, qui ajoutaient une dimension religieuse aux formalités civiles du mariage. Pour d'autres, ces prêtres auraient été responsables de l'organisation religieuse des citoyens à l'intérieur des dèmes, et seraient intervenus dans les questions matrimoniales pour certifier le statut de citoyen des ressortissants de leur dème, ce qui expliquerait

[7] *P.Berol.* 25423, Final Copy, 43–69 (Brashear 1996, 377–8); Yiftach 1997, 178–182.

[8] *P.Fay.* 22, avec les commentaires de Schubart (1913, 76–7 et n. 3), qui considère qu'il s'agissait d'un décret de la cité de Ptolémaïs, et ceux des éditeurs de *P.Hal.* (p. 136), qui pensent, comme Grenfell et Hunt, qu'il s'agissait d'un décret royal qui s'adressait peut-être, en raison de la mention des hiérothytes, aux habitants d'Alexandrie.

[9] Cf. déjà les commentaires de Wilamowitz rapportés par Schubart 1913, 77 n. 1 et Otto 1905–1908, 1: 164 n. 3.

qu'ils soient uniquement attestés, en Égypte, dans les cités grecques d'Alexandrie et de Ptolémaïs.[10]

Suivant une autre interprétation, les hiérothytes, loin d'être demeurés ce qu'ils étaient à l'origine dans le reste du monde grec, et loin d'avoir une fonction religieuse dans le cadre du mariage, seraient devenus en Égypte de simples "tabellions habilités à rédiger des contrats et à les conserver."[11] Cette transformation de leur fonction serait advenue sous l'influence du modèle égyptien, où les notaires étaient généralement rattachés à un temple, et travaillaient pour le compte et sous la responsabilité du clergé.[12] L'auteur de cette théorie, qui a publié un ouvrage sur les hiérothytes grecs, a écarté délibérément le dossier égyptien de sa synthèse sous prétexte que les hiérothytes grecs et leurs homologues égyptiens n'avaient en commun que le nom.[13]

Ces diverses théories soulèvent de nombreuses objections.[14] D'abord, les conjoints qui s'engageaient à se présenter devant les hiérothytes n'avaient pas tous la citoyenneté alexandrine.[15] Ensuite, si les hiérothytes avaient un rôle à jouer dans la consécration de l'union conjugale ou dans le contrôle de la citoyenneté des conjoints, on comprend mal pourquoi ils attendaient une date indéterminée, laissée à la décision de l'un ou l'autre des conjoints pour intervenir, et ne le faisaient pas quand les époux scellaient leur union matrimoniale pour la première fois, lors du premier contrat de mariage. L'idée d'une consécration religieuse du mariage est par ailleurs totalement étrangère à la société grecque, où le mariage était une institution juridique qui s'occupait du statut personnel et du patrimoine des conjoints.[16] Quant à l'influence du modèle égyptien sur la transformation des

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[10] Schubart 1913, 78–9; Wolff 1939, 34–47; 1978, 29, 138 n. 7; Fraser 1972, 72, 96; Delia 1991, 108–9; Vérilhac et Vial 1998, 17–20.

[11] Winand 1985, 404.

[12] Otto (1905–1908, 2: 294–5) établissait déjà une relation implicite entre les hiérothytes grecs et les scribes égyptiens qui exerçaient le notariat dans les temples, mais la thèse de l'influence du notariat égyptien a été développée par Winand 1985, 398–411.

[13] Winand 1990.

[14] Vérilhac et Vial 1998, 17–20 font de bonnes critiques, mais ne proposent pas de nouvelle interprétation.

[15] Cf. *BGU* IV 1051–2.

[16] On citera pour Athènes le fameux dialogue entre les Lois athéniennes et Socrate dans le *Criton*, 50 d 3–5; voir pour l'Égypte, les §§ 45–53 du *Gnomon de l'Idiologue* relatifs au mariage (*BGU* V, 1210; Modrzejewski 1977, 538–40).

prêtres grecs en notaires, on peut se demander pourquoi elle se serait exercée dans les cités grecques d'Égypte, sans se manifester là où elle aurait eu le plus de raison de le faire, c'est-à-dire dans les villes et villages de la *chôra*.

En effet, comme nous allons le voir, même si les hiérothytes ne sont pas attestés ailleurs qu'à Alexandrie (et peut-être à Ptolémaïs), il y avait d'autres magistrats qui établissaient et enregistraient comme eux des *syngraphai sunoikesiou* dans la *chôra*. Ces magistrats sont les agoranomes,[17] qui n'étaient pas de simples notaires, et encore moins des "tabellions," et qui ne furent jamais soumis à l'influence du modèle égyptien. Ils témoignent, au contraire, de l'importance du modèle grec dans l'administration du territoire égyptien.[18]

Les documents de la *chôra* qui permettent d'observer la relation entre les hiérothytes alexandrins et les agoranomes de l'intérieur du pays appartiennent à deux registres de contrats issus de *grapheia* locaux, qui offrent une documentation comparable à bien des égards à celle des archives du bureau du juriste alexandrin. Il s'agit d'une part du registre de Théogonis, village de la *méris* de Polémon du nome Arsinoïte,[19] et de l'autre du registre de Philadelphie, village de la *méris* d'Héracleidès du même nome.[20]

Ces deux registres contiennent des contrats de mariage. Comme à Alexandrie, les documents qui proviennent d'un même bureau sont toujours rédigés suivant le même modèle, ce qui montre, contrairement à certains a priori des historiens du droit, que les conjoints ne choisissaient pas eux-mêmes le formulaire de leur contrat de mariage, mais se pliaient aux usages du notaire local qui l'établissait pour eux. On relèvera à ce propos l'importance du nouveau contrat de mariage alexandrin, qui illustre, précisément, la façon dont le notaire travaillait. Ce papyrus contient d'un côté le brouillon et de l'autre la copie définitive du même document. Pour citer Brashear, "one cannot escape the impression that Hermais and Thaubarion (les conjoints)

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[17] Cf. Wolff (1978, 138 n. 7). Nous reviendrons sur le sujet dans un ouvrage collectif sur les agoranomes dans le monde grec dirigé par R. Descats (à paraître dans *RÉA Suppl.*).

[18] Pestman 1978, 203–10.

[19] *CPR* XVIII = *Das Vertragsregister von Theogonis* (*P.Vindob. G 40618*) , ed. B. Kramer 1991. Pour les caractéristiques de ce registre, qui regroupe des documents provenant de divers villages de la méride, cf. l'introduction de l'éditeur B. Kramer.

[20] *P.Freib.* III 12–33: "Urkundenfragmente einer Abschriftenrolle aus dem Dorfarchiv von Philadelphia."

themselves were sitting before the notary telling him the details and the various stipulations they wanted included in their contract."[21]

Mais revenons aux registres des bureaux de la *chôra*. Le registre de Théogonis contient une série d'*eiromena*, c'est-à-dire d'extraits ou de minutes de contrats, établis sous Ptolémée III Évergète en 232/1. Au nombre de ceux-ci figurent sept contrats de mariage et un reçu pour la restitution d'une dot.[22] Tous les contrats de mariage, sans exception, se terminent par une clause correspondant à celle des contrats de mariage alexandrins:

> θέσθω δὲ ὁ δεῖνα τῆι δεῖνι συγγραφὴν συνοικεσίου ἐν τῶι δημοσίωι ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ἀφ' ἧς ἂν προείπηι ὁ δεῖνα . . . τὸ δ' ἀνήλωμα εἰς τὴν τοῦ συνοικεσίου συγγραφὴν δότωσαν κοινῆι.
>
> "qu'un tel (le mari) dresse et dépose en faveur d'une telle (sa femme) une *sungraphé sunoikesiou* dans le *dèmosion*, dans les dix jours[23] à partir de celui où elle l'aura notifié. Qu'ils paient en commun les frais pour la *sungraphé sunoikesiou*."
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> Variante: εἰς τὸν δημόσιον (au lieu de ἐν τῶι δημοσίωι).

Le reçu pour la restitution d'une dot conservé dans ce même registre apporte des précisions importantes sur le dépôt des *syngraphai sunoikesiou* dans le *dèmosion*. La mère de l'épouse—qui accuse réception de la restitution de la dot—reconnaît en effet que la somme remboursée était conforme à celle qui figurait dans la copie de la *syngraphé sunoikesiou* conclue par les conjoints, qui était déposée auprès d'un *syngraphophylax* du nom de Dôsithéos, mais elle s'engage aussi à retirer—et donc à annuler—en présence de son ex-gendre l'original de cette *syngraphé sunoikesiou*, qui était déposé dans le *dèmosion*:

> Φιλ[ο]υμένη Διοκλέ̣ο̣υ̣ς Ἰουδαία μετὰ κ̣υρίου τ̣ο̣ῦ αὐτῆς ἀδελφο̣ῦ̣ Πυθ̣οκ̣λ̣έους τοῦ Διοκλέους Ἰ̣ο̣υδαίου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὁ̣μ̣ολογεῖ ἀπέχειν παρὰ Μενε̣σ̣τράτου τοῦ [Ἰωνα]θοῦ Ἰου`δαίου' τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὰς πεντακο[σίας ⟨. . .] χαλκο(ῦ) (δραχμὰς)⟩ ἃς ἔλαβεν φερνὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς. [. . . .]ην̣ συγγραφὴν συνοικεσ[ίου τὴν Φιλουμένη συμπαρόντος Μενεστράτου.
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> "Philouménê (. . .) reconnaît qu'elle a reçu de la part de Ménestratos (. . .) les cinq cent [x] drachmes en numéraire de bronze qu'il avait

[21] Brashear 1996, 370.

[22] Contrats de mariage: *CPR* XVIII 6 (Théogenis); 8 (Samaria); 12; 13 (Oxyrhyncha); 17 (Kalliphanous Epoikion); 20 (Dikaiou Nésos); 28 (*méris* de Polémon); reçu pour le remboursement d'une dot: *CPR* XVIII 9 (Samaria).

[23] Le délai est de trente jours dans *CPR* XVIII 20, xi 417–8.

prises comme dot de sa fille conformément à la *syngraphé sunoikesiou* déposée auprès de Dôsithéos; celle qui est déposée dans le *dèmosion*, Philouménê la retirera en présence de Ménestratos."

CPR XVIII 9, 174–182

La *syngraphé sunoikesiou* était donc établie en deux exemplaires: l'un était déposé dans le *dèmosion*, l'autre auprès d'un *syngraphophylax* privé. Comme on le sait par d'autres sources, l'exemplaire conservé dans les archives officielles était l'original, tandis que celui qui était déposé auprès du *syngraphophylax* était une copie. L'original ne pouvait être consulté qu'en cas d'extrême nécessité, et ne pouvait être annulé que si les deux parties étaient présentes et consentantes.[24]

Passons au second registre de contrats, qui provient de Philadelphie. C'est un *tomos sunkollésimos*, constitué de copies intégrales de contrats, datés de 178 av. J.-C.[25] Ce registre contient cinq contrats de mariage et un contrat de divorce. Ces documents, très mutilés, ont été restitués et commentés de façon remarquable par Partsch et Wilcken. On y retrouve, malgré les lacunes, les mêmes formules qu'à Alexandrie et à Théogonis. On apprend—grâce au contrat de divorce—que ces "premiers" contrats de mariage étaient désignés à Philadelphie sous le nom de *syngraphai homologias*[26] (tandis qu'à Alexandrie, on se rappellera qu'il s'agissait de *synchôreseis*). Les maris y déclarent qu'ils ont reçu la dot, dont le montant et la composition sont donnés, et s'engagent à dresser une *sungraphé sunoikesiou* dans les trente jours à partir de celui où leur femme le leur demandera. On retrouve la mention du *dèmosion* (εἰς τὸν δημόσιον), accompagnée de deux précisions:

1) que le *dèmosion* se trouvait à Crocodilopolis du nome Arsinoïte, c'est-à-dire dans la métropole du nome:

[24] Pour le dépôt des contrats en deux lieux différents et la force respective des divers exemplaires, cf. Lambrinudakis et Wörrle 1983, 324–6; Burkhalter 1990, 203–7.

[25] *P.Freib.* III 12–33: "Urkundenfragmente einer Abschriftrolle aus dem Dorfarchiv von Philadelphia." Il s'agit d'une publication posthume de J. Partsch; l'auteur avait soumis son manuscrit à Wilcken peu avant de mourir, mais les deux savants n'eurent pas le temps d'en discuter, et Wilcken le publia en y ajoutant des commentaires signés par lui, ainsi qu'un long appendice en fin de volume. Le nouveau registre de contrats de Théogonis, dont l'état de conservation est excellent, permet de compléter les raisonnements de Partsch et Wilcken sur l'enregistrement des contrats de mariage.

[26] *P.Freib.* III 29a, 17: [κατὰ συγγρα]φὴν ὁμ[ολογί]ας. Ce fragment, qui n'avait pas été retenu par Partsch, est publié par Wilcken dans l'Appendice à *P.Freib.* III.

P. Freib. III 26, 10: [εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐν Κροκοδί]λων πόλε[ι τοῦ 'Αρσινοίτου νομ[(*sic*)οῦ][27]
P. Freib. III 29, 8: [---]ου εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐν Κροκ[οδίλων πόλει].
2) que les *sungraphai sunoikesiou* seraient établies et déposées devant des officiers chargés expressément de l'enregistrement des contrats:
P.Freib. III 26, 11–12: [ἐπὶ] τῶν πραγμα[τευομένων τὰς γαμικὰς συγγραφὰς]
P. Freib. III 29, 10 (lecture Wilcken): [ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμσ]τευομένων τὰς γαμικὰς σ[υγγραφὰς].

La première conclusion que l'on peut tirer de cet examen est que l'usage d'établir une *syngraphè sunoikesiou* après avoir dressé un premier contrat de mariage n'était pas exclusif à Alexandrie, mais était également en vigueur dans la *chôra*. La deuxième, que les archives où les hiérothytes déposaient les *syngraphai sunoikesiou* à Alexandrie correspondaient au *dèmosion* de la métropole du nome Arsinoïte, et selon toute vraisemblance, des autres métropoles de la *chôra* égyptienne. La troisième, que les hiérothytes avaient la même fonction, à Alexandrie, que les officiers désignés comme οἱ πραγματευόμενοι τὰς γαμικὰς συγγραφὰς ("les individus chargés de s'occuper des contrats de mariage") à Crocodilopolis.

Nous avons dit plus haut que le nouveau contrat de mariage alexandrin retrouvé dans le Musée de Berlin confirmait la théorie de Schubart suivant laquelle ce qui distinguait les "*syngraphai sunoikesiou* établies devant les hiérothytes" des "*synchôrèseis* de mariage" était qu'elles contenaient les dispositions testamentaires des époux.[28] La correspondance entre les documents alexandrins et ceux de la *chôra* confirme définitivement cette hypothèse. En effet, on connaît deux *syngraphai sunoikesiou* d'époque ptolémaïque provenant de l'intérieur du pays, qui contiennent toutes deux les dispositions testamentaires des conjoints.[29] Par ailleurs, cette même caractéristique explique la requête d'un jeune homme de Memphis (?), qui revendique la dot de sa mère après la mort de celle-ci.[30] La mère de ce jeune homme

[27] Une erreur d'édition ne permet pas de savoir où les seconds crochets (à partir de πῶλε[ι) se refermaient.
[28] Schubart 1913, 75–79; Yiftach 1997, pp. 178–182.
[29] *P.Munch.* III 62 (sans provenance, 2ème s. av. J.-C.), 15–21; le document est la copie d'une *syngraphè sunoikesiou* (ἀντίγρ(αφον) συγγρ(αφῆς) συνοικισίου Ἀρσινόης εἰς Μενεκράτην); *SB* VI 8974 (n. Héracléopolite, 100/65 av. J.-C.), Fr. 1–3, col. I 11, cf. Wolff 1939, 110–111 (il s'agit aussi d'une copie).
[30] *UPZ* I, 123 (Memphis? vers 157/6 av. J.-C.). La dot s'élevait à 2 talents en numéraire de bronze.

avait épousé en secondes noces un homme, qui était décédé peu après elle. Pour faire valoir ses droits sur la *phernè* de sa mère—que les héritiers du second mari s'étaient injustement appropriée—le fils insiste sur le régime matrimonial sous lequel sa mère s'était remariée.[31] Il indique que son beau-père s'était engagé à dresser une *syngraphè sunoikesiou* en faveur de sa mère dans le courant de l'année, mais que les conjoints étaient morts avant d'avoir pu la conclure, et n'en avaient donc pas laissé. L'absence de *syngraphè sunoikesiou* était un argument décisif en faveur du plaignant. En effet, en l'absence de *syngraphè sunoikesiou*, la succession était soumise au droit coutumier, selon lequel le fils était l'héritier légitime des biens de sa mère.[32]

Les hiérothytes alexandrins n'étaient donc pas de simples notaires (et moins encore des notaires soumis à l'influence du modèle égyptien), ni les garants de la citoyenneté des enfants nés d'une union entre alexandrins. Ils étaient chargés—comme les agoranomes dans la *chôra*—d'établir et de conserver des contrats de mariage contenant des dispositions testamentaires, qui étaient soumis aux mêmes règles que les testaments eux-mêmes.[33] Il serait intéressant de savoir si les hiérothytes alexandrins avaient d'autres charges, et dans quelle mesure leur rôle se rapprochait de celui des magistrats du même nom connus dans les cités grecques. Rien ne permet de l'exclure.[34] Au contraire. Ce que l'on sait de la composition des collèges de hiérothytes dans le monde grec et de leur rôle dans la vie publique des cités permettrait certainement d'éclairer le rôle des hiérothytes alexandrins.[35] Mais l'inverse est également vrai, et le rôle connu des hiérothytes alexandrins

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[31] *UPZ* I, 123, 5–15: bref résumé du contrat de mariage de la mère, qui est désigné comme une συγγραφὴ ὁμολογίας.

[32] Yiftach 1997, 182 souligne avec raison que "the *sungraphe sunoikesiou* was used as a written instrument to establish hereditary settlements, in case these diverged from the hereditary custom."

[33] Pour l'enregistrement des testaments hellénistiques, cf. l'introduction de *P.Petr.*[2] I: The Wills (W. Clarysse). Pour le contrôle officiel des propriétés, cf. à titre de comparaison les dispositions juridiques relatives à la vente en droit alexandrin citées dans *BGU* VI 1213, ll. 9–10 (fin du 3[ème] s. av. J.-C.), cf. *C.Ord.Ptol., All.* 35. Pour l'enregistrement obligatoire des testaments à l'époque romaine, cf. Burkhalter 1990, 204.

[34] *Contra*: Winand 1985 et 1990.

[35] Le Prof. D. Musti, avec lequel j'avais eu l'occasion de commenter le sujet, annonçait une étude sur les hiérothytes grecs dans son commentaire à Paus., IV, 32,1 (Musti et Torelli, 1991, 258), mais à ma connaissance ce travail n'a pas été publié.

est une donnée importante pour étudier celui des hiérothytes dans le reste du monde grec et hellénistique.

Si l'on s'en tient aux contrats de mariage alexandrins, il n'est guère possible d'en dire plus sur les hiérothytes de la capitale égyptienne, mais une autre documentation va nous permettre d'avancer trois hypothèses qui concernent, d'une part, la chronologie des hiérothytes, d'autre part, la toponymie d'Alexandrie, et enfin la situation topographique du *hiérothysion* à Alexandrie.

Chronologie des hiérothytes

Nous avons vu que les hiérothytes alexandrins ne sont attestés qu'à l'époque d'Auguste, et disparaissent complètement des sources postérieures. Comme les contrats alexandrins d'Abousir el Meleq présentent encore toutes les caractéristiques de la documentation hellénistique,[36] il est normal de penser que la charge des hiérothytes fut instaurée dans la capitale à l'époque ptolémaïque et supprimée lors de la réorganisation administrative du pays. On peut donc s'étonner que la riche documentation émanant de la chancellerie lagide n'y fasse jamais allusion. Or, si l'on y regarde de plus près, je crois qu'on finit tout de même par les rencontrer. Et le hasard veut même qu'on les découvre dans les collections papyrologiques de la Columbia University.

Le papyrus qui les mentionne est un fragment d'ordonnance (*prostagma*) de Ptolémée III Évergète ordonnant un recensement des propriétés (οὐσίαι), daté de 229/8 av. J.-C.[37] Les propriétaires, ou, s'ils étaient absents ou requis par le service militaire, leurs femmes, leurs parents, leurs frères, leurs soeurs, leurs fils ou leurs filles, devaient obligatoirement fournir une déclaration de ces propriétés, accompa-

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[36] Cette caractéristique, évidente dans le cas des contrats de mariage, est relevée et commentée par Schubart (1913, 71).

[37] *P.Col.Zen.* II, 120 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 28. Ce document date certainement du règne de Ptol. III Évergète, et non de celui d'Épiphane (Dans *C.Ord.Ptol.* 28, M.-Th. Lenger retient les dates de 229/8 ou 187/6, mais penche pour la première pour des raisons paléographiques). Il est copié au verso d'un contrat de location de terres provenant des archives de Zénon (*P.Col.Zen.* II, 85) daté de la 3ème année de Ptol. III (245/4). Ce document, qui est le plus tardif de ces archives, remonte à une époque où elles n'étaient plus en possession de Zénon, cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XXI, 1: 183.

gnée d'une estimation de leur valeur ou de leurs revenus, en vue de la levée d'un impôt de 2 drachmes par mine (2%) au profit d'une *dôréa* fiscale. L'ordonnance précise que les propriétaires déposeraient leurs déclarations à Alexandrie ou dans les métropoles de la *chôra*. Or, le papyrus est mutilé à l'endroit précis où les magistrats alexandrins auprès desquels ils devaient le faire sont cités. Les commentateurs ont lu πρὸς τ[ο]ὺς ἱερέ[et proposé de restituer πρὸς τ[ο]ὺς ἱερέ[ας . . . τοὺς περὶ τὴν πόλιν], sans pouvoir préciser qui étaient ces "prêtres de la ville."[38] Il me semble, pour ma part, qu'on lit plutôt ἱερο[. . ., ce qui permet de proposer la restitution πρὸς τ[ο]ὺς ἱερο[θύτας.[39] S'il en est bien ainsi, les propriétaires qui possédaient des propriétés à Alexandrie ou, s'ils étaient absents, leurs ayants droit, furent donc appelés à déclarer leurs propriétés auprès des hiérothytes lors d'un recensement général des propriétés qui eut lieu en 229/8 av. J.-C.[40] Le texte de cette ordonnance s'accorde parfaitement avec la fonction que nous avons proposé d'attribuer aux hiérothytes alexandrins, c'est-à-dire l'établissement et la conservation des testaments, qui exigeaient un contrôle très strict des titres héréditaires de propriété. On pourrait aller plus loin et se demander, comme l'avait fait C. Préaux, si les hiérothytes n'étaient pas les bénéficiaires de la *dôréa* dont il est question dans cette ordonnance. Rien ne permet de l'affirmer, et nous nous contenterons de dire que ce document atteste que les hiérothytes étaient déjà en charge à Alexandrie sous le règne de Ptolémée III, et étaient déjà responsables, à cette date, de contrôler le patrimoine des Alexandrins.

Toponymie d'Alexandrie: les Patrika

Passons à la toponymie. Comme tout le monde sait, la ville d'Alexandrie était découpée en une série d'unités administratives qui étaient, dans l'ordre décroissant: (1) la *moira* (il y en avait cinq, numérotées de α à ε), que l'on pourrait traduire par "l'arrondissement";

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[38] Cf. bibliographie et commentaire dans *C.Ord.Ptol.* 28.

[39] Le document peut être consulté en ligne à l'adresse: APIS catalogue record and images, http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/apis/apisquery?function=lookup&key=columbia.apis.p160). Je remercie R. Bagnall de me l'avoir communiquée quand je préparais cette communication.

[40] Pour les destinataires et les circonstances de ce *prostagma*, cf. les commentaires de Jones 1971, 302 et n. 6 (473).

(2) une seconde subdivision, correspondant probablement au quartier (ἄμφοδον), désignée, dans la majorité des exemples conservés, par la locution ἐν τῷ suivie d'un nom au génitif ou d'un complément de lieu; (3) une troisième subdivision, la plus petite, correspondant peut-être aux *plintheia* grecs ou à l'*insula* romaine—ou aux *blocks* de New York—désignée par la locution ἐν τῷ suivie d'un nom au genitif.[41] Pour prendre un exemple, un candidat à l'éphébie alexandrine qui déclarait son domicile devant l'exégète disait: "j'habite dans l'(*amphodon*) en face du navarque, dans les (*plintheia*) de Polémon";[42] ou un autre: "j'habite dans l'(*amphodon*) hors de la Xyléra, dans les (*plintheia*) de Thôris."[43] Comme l'examen était organisé par *moira*, il n'était pas nécessaire qu'ils précisent dans quel "arrondissement" ils vivaient.

Parmi les *plintheia* ou *insulae* dont le nom est parvenu jusqu'à nous, il en est une qui s'appelait "*Patrika*." C'est là que se trouvait, dès le début de l'époque romaine, la bibliothèque centrale qui renfermait les archives officielles de toute la province: ἡ ἐν Πατρικοῖς βιβλιοθήκη.[44] Mais les *Patrika* abritaient aussi la station de la *vicesima hereditatum* (la taxe du vingtième prélevée sur les héritages), devant laquelle on procédait à l'ouverture des testaments,[45] et l'on sait que des procès pour héritage y eurent lieu.[46] Or, le toponyme de *Patrika* signifie "les biens patrimoniaux." Une fameuse inscription de Macédoine, la donation du roi Lysimaque à Limnaios, fils d'Harpalos, a confirmé récemment le sens de ce terme, et permis d'écarter définitivement la thèse de Rostowzew, généralement suivie par les papyrologues, selon laquelle il signifiait plutôt "les baux héréditaires."[47] Cette inscription de Cassandria (Macédoine) rapporte que le roi Lysimaque avait donné certaines terres ἐν πατρικοῖς à Limnaios fils d'Harpalos, et précise

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[41] Calderini 1972, 79–80; Burkhalter et Martin 2000, 257–8.

[42] *P.Tebt.* II, 316, col. II, 22–23: οἰκοῦμεν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθε ναυάρχου ἐν τοῖς Ποτάμωνος.

[43] *P.Tebt.* II, 316, col. IV, 94–96: οἰκῶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐκτὸς τῆ⟨ς⟩ ξυληρᾶ⟨ς⟩ ἐν τọ[ῖς] Θῴριος.

[44] Cette bibliothèque fut sans doute créée par Auguste, même si le premier document qui la désigne par son nom date de 46 ap. J.-C.; elle est encore attestée au début du IVème s. ap. J.-C., cf. Burkhalter 1990, 194–5.

[45] *BGU* XIII, 2244 (186 ap. J.-C.), 12: ἠν[οίγη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείạ] πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Πατρικοῖς πρὸς τῇ στατιῶν[ι τῆς εἰκοστῆς τῶν κληρονομιῶν καὶ ἐλευθεριῶν].

[46] *BGU* III, 832 (113 ap. J.-C.), 25: ἐν Πατρικοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος.

[47] *SEG* XXXVIII, 619: donation du roi Lysimaque à Limnaios, fils d'Harpalos, 285/4 av. J.-C., avec la monographie de Hatzopoulos (1988).

qu'il les avait données, "à lui et à ses descendants, avec plein droit de les posséder, de les vendre, de les échanger et de les donner à qui ils voudraient."[48] L'expression ἐν πατρικοῖς, que l'on retrouve dans d'autres inscriptions de Macédoine, avait été parfaitement interprétée par Dittenberger comme *eodem iure ac si a patre hereditate accepisset*, c'est-à-dire "avec le même droit que si (le bénéficiaire) l'avait reçu en héritage de la part de son père."[49]

Si le toponyme alexandrin de *Patrika*, "Biens héréditaires," remonte à l'époque hellénistique, comme il y a tout lieu de le penser, on peut se demander si ce n'est pas dans l'*insula* des *Patrika* que se trouvaient déjà les archives officielles d'époque ptolémaïque où les hiérothytes conservaient les déclarations de propriété et les *syngraphai sunoikesiou* des habitants de la ville, grâce auxquelles ils contrôlaient, précisément, la transmission des biens patrimoniaux—les πατρικὰ—des Alexandrins. À l'époque romaine, le lieu aurait conservé la fonction administrative qu'il avait à l'époque hellénistique en devenant le siège de la bibliothèque centrale des actes officiels, et conservé aussi le toponyme (*Patrika*) que les Alexandrins lui avaient donné.

Topographie de la cité

Mais où était le siège des hiérothytes à Alexandrie, et à quoi pouvait-il ressembler? Cette dernière question nous ramènera définitivement vers la Grèce, où se trouve, semble-t-il, le seul *hiérothysion* archéologiquement connu. Grâce aux commentaires de Pausanias IV, 32,1, les fouilleurs de Messène ont en effet proposé d'identifier le *hiérothysion* de la cité.[50] Leur identification repose principalement sur la situation topographique des vestiges, qui coïncide avec la place du *hiérothysion* dans l'itinéraire de Pausanias (entre l'Asklépieion et le gymnase) (fig. 1). Le périégète ne décrit pas l'édifice, mais signale seulement qu'il renfermait les statues de tous les dieux que les Grecs vénéraient, ainsi qu'une statue en bronze du héros fondateur, Épaminondas, et des trépieds anciens.[51] Le *hiérothysion* de Messène—si c'est bien

[48] *Ibid.*, 22–27: trad. Hatzopoulos (1988, 18).
[49] Pour un commentaire approfondi de l'expression ἐμ πατρικοῖς et une réfutation de la théorie de Rostowzew sur les "baux héréditaires," cf. Hatzopoulos 1988, 31–35.
[50] Thémélis 1995, 42–3 et 1999, 99–101.

de lui qu'il s'agit—est constitué de plusieurs bâtiments, quatre au moins, regroupés sur un espace d'environ 50 m de large sur 70 m de long (fig. 2).

Il est vrai que l'identification de ce complexe n'est pas définitive, car les fouilles ne sont pas terminées, et qu'il est hasardeux d'en tirer des conclusions trop hâtives sur l'aspect que pouvait avoir le *hiérothysion* alexandrin. Il est vrai aussi que les bâtiments de Messène sont sans doute plus tardifs que le *hiérothysion* d'Alexandrie, puisqu'ils sont principalement datés du 1er s. ap. J.-C. Il y a cependant quelques éléments qui retiennent l'attention, et qui méritent d'être soulignés: le premier est précisément le fait qu'il s'agisse d'un complexe de bâtiments, aux fonctions multiples et diversifiées. Les archéologues ont dégagé un premier édifice, constitué de plusieurs habitations regroupées autour d'une cour à péristyle (G); certaines pièces, qui ressemblent à des *andrônes*, servaient peut-être aux repas que les hiérothytes et les agonothètes de Messène prenaient en commun pendant la durée des fêtes,[52] tandis qu'une autre pièce (F), pourvue de trois portes qui donnaient sur la cour, et d'un podium sur lequel était placée la base d'une statue, servait peut-être à des fins religieuses.[53] On ne sait pas grand choses pour l'instant des autres bâtiments, où se trouvaient sans doute les statues des douze dieux et les trépieds anciens dont parle Pausanias.[54]

Le siège des hiérothytes à Alexandrie ressemblait peut-être au *hiérothysion* de Messène. Il regroupait sans doute plusieurs bâtiments, les uns répondant au rôle administratif des hiérothytes (bureaux et archives, comme le *dèmosion* des métropoles de nomes), les autres aux fonctions religieuses de ces "prêtres sacrificateurs."

Passons à la topographie. Si l'on considère l'emplacement du *hiérothysion* de Messène, au coeur de la cité hellénistique, entre l'agora et le gymnase, et l'indication de Pausanias selon laquelle il conte-

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[51] Paus. IV, 32,1: τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱεροθύσιον ἔχει μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ὁπόσους νομίζουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἔχει δὲ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα Ἐπαμινώνδου. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι τρίποδες· ἀπύρους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ Ὅμηρος.

[52] Thémélis (1999, 100) pense que les pièces regroupées autour de la cour à péristyle G, qui ressemblaient à des *andrônes*, pouvaient servir aux repas que les hiérothytes et les agonothètes prenaient en commun pendant la durée des fêtes.

[53] *Ibid.*, salle F.

[54] Musti considère à juste titre que le *hiérothysion* de Messène devait être "un luogo per sacrifici, sede di sacerdoti con funzioni magistratuali," "una sede sacrale e probabilmente magistratuale cittadina" (Musti et Torelli, 1991, 258–9).

nait les statues des dieux vénérés par les Grecs et du héros fondateur, on peut se demander si le *hiérothysion* d'Alexandrie ne serait pas à chercher à proximité du lieu où fut découvert de façon fortuite, en 1961, le bel autel cylindrique à reliefs représentant une assemblée de douze dieux, qui est exposé aujourd'hui dans le jardin du Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie (fig. 3–4).[55] Cet autel, daté de la fin du IIIème s. av. J.-C., fut mis au jour lors de la construction d'un édifice situé au n° 36 (ou 39?) de la rue actuelle "Alexandre le Grand," qui correspond approximativement, sur le plan traditionnel de M. El Falaki, à l'angle Sud-Est du carré délimité, à l'Est, par la rue R2 et au Sud par la rue L3 (fig. 5–6).[56] Ce monument remarquable n'était pas *in situ*; il fut retrouvé à une profondeur de 4 m., alors que le niveau du sol antique, dans ce secteur, est à une profondeur de 11,73–13, 28 m.[57] Il ne devait pourtant pas être très éloigné de son emplacement initial, car son poids et ses dimensions ne permettaient pas de le transporter facilement.[58]

Il est difficile de situer le lieu de découverte de l'autel des douze dieux dans la topographie de la cité antique, et en particulier de comprendre s'il se trouvait à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur du Palais.[59] Il est impossible de trancher la question dans l'état actuel de nos

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[55] MGR n° inv. 27064 (17007 B). Ghisellini 1999, *passim.* Je remercie Jean-Yves Empereur pour les photos numériques de l'autel et pour ses informations sur le lieu de découverte de ce monument, qui pose problème. D'après le journal d'entrée du Musée gréco-romain, l'autel aurait été retrouvé en février 1962 dans les fondations de l'immeuble n° 39 de la rue Alexandre le Grand (Mazaritah), tandis qu'Henri Riad (1982), Directeur du MGR lors de la découverte, le publia pour la première fois avec l'indication qu'il avait été trouvé au n° 36 de la même rue (indication suivie par Ghisellini). Le contremaître de la fouille au cours de laquelle l'autel fut trouvé, interrogé par J.-Y. Empereur, lui a en revanche indiqué sur le terrain le n° 27, qui se situe à l'angle de la rue Champollion et de la rue Alexandre le Grand, à proximité de l'Hôtel Delta. La topographe du CEA Cécile Shaalan a par ailleurs constaté qu'il y avait eu une renumérotation de la voirie sur la rue Alexandre le Grand entre 1938 et l'époque actuelle, sans pouvoir préciser encore quand elle avait eu lieu. Il est donc impossible de tirer des conclusions précises sur l'emplacement de ce monument dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances.

[56] Je remercie Jean-Yves Empereur et Cécile Shaalan pour le plan d'ensemble d'Alexandrie moderne et le plan de secteur qu'ils m'ont fournis. Pour le cadastre informatisé d'Alexandrie réalisé par le CEA, qui permet désormais de situer précisément les découvertes archéologiques faites à Alexandrie, cf. Arnaud, 2002. La découverte de l'autel est donc postérieure au plan du secteur publié par Adriani (1934).

[57] Ghisellini 1999, 15; Adriani 1934, 79, n° 57.

[58] Haut. O,75 m.; diam. 1,05 m.

[59] Ghisellini trace un état succinct de la question; elle écrit que l'autel fut trouvé

connaissances. J'aimerais cependant suggérer—sans aucune preuve, il est vrai—que cet autel provenait de l'extérieur des *Basileia*, du secteur qui se rouvait à l'Ouest du mur d'enceinte occidental du Palais où s'ouvrait—rappelons-le—le χρηματιστικὸς πυλών τῶν βασιλειῶν, c'est-à-dire "la porte 'administrative' des *Basileia*," qui donnait accès à la zone administrative du Palais.[60] Il est certainement audacieux de supposer que l'autel des douze dieux faisait partie du mobilier sacré du *hiérothysion* et servait aux sacrifices des hiérothytes.[61] Mais si le quartier administratif d'Alexandrie se trouvait à proximité du Palais, entre le gymnase[62] et le théâtre, dans la zone où se déroulèrent les émeutes et les massacres sanglants qui suivirent la mort de Ptolémée IV,[63] il me semble que c'est bien dans ce même quartier—comme à Messène—que l'on devrait chercher le *hiérothysion* de la capitale lagide.

"dans la région des *Basileia*" (1999, 14), mais ne se prononce pas sur sa situation topographique (*ibid.*, 20).

[60] Cf. Pol. XV, 31, 1 et Adriani 1966b, 238–9. La zone administrative du Palais, où se trouvait, entre autres, "le tribunal de la Cour" mentionné dans les documents d'Abousir el Meleq, était certainement ouverte, sous certaines conditions, à la fréquentation du public.

[61] Ghisellini (1999, 98–106; 120) suggère que l'autel des douze dieux se trouvait dans le Tychaion d'Alexandrie, où l'on sait par Libanius qu'il y avait, entre autres, une représentation des douze dieux et une statue de Ptolémé Ier Sôter.

[62] Burkhalter 1992.

[63] Pol. XV, 30–33.

CHAPTER SIX

THE *OIKOS* OF ALEXANDRIA*

Livia Capponi

Introduction

Ancient Greek cities, but also imperial Rome and Islamic cities such as Cordoba or Granada, were often surrounded by large belts of land, usually horticultural properties that supplied the city markets with fresh fruit and vegetables.[1] From its foundation, the city of Alexandria also owned a specific territory in the Delta, the so-called Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα or 'land of the Alexandrians,' which was used for gardens, fruit-trees or vineyards.[2] It is unclear whether this land was owned collectively by the Alexandrian citizens as a community, or, as seems to me more probable, whether it was a special, low-tax category of land that was leased by the Ptolemaic king to Alexandrian citizens only. In fact, there is evidence that this land enjoyed fiscal privileges from the early Ptolemaic period until at least AD 68, when the edict of the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander stated that the ἀρχαῖα γῆ in the Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα and the Menelaite nome should be excluded from the land survey that formed the basis of taxation.[3]

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[1] Horden and Purcell 2000, 223.

[2] See Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1979. On the exact topographical location and the history of the Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα see Henne 1938, 137–58 and Jones 1971, 304 and 475 n. 11.

[3] The 'Amnesty Decrees' of Ptolemy Euergetes II (*P.Tebt.* I 5.93–8 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53) granted tax-exemption to this territory in 118 BC. Other royal decrees addressed the Alexandrians resident in the *chora* as a privileged class; see for instance *C.Ord.Ptol.* 76, an edict of Cleopatra VII and Caesarion, addressed to 'those from the city who farm in the Prosopite and the Boubastite.' On the relevant passage in the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, *OGIS* II 669.59–61, see the commentary by Chalon 1964, 230–3. As Strabo XVII 1.18 reports, the Menelaite nome lay just east of Alexandria to the right of the Canopic canal.

The aforementioned ᾿Αλεξανδρέων χώρα was thus a technical topographical term which described some land in an area of the Delta in the outskirts (*chora*) of the city, which was normally owned by or leased to Alexandrian citizens only. However, the property of the Alexandrian citizens was not *confined* to this area.[4] Roman documents show Alexandrian citizens buying, leasing and owning land as private property throughout Egypt, and probably also under the Ptolemies some Alexandrian citizens could own or lease lands not only in the Delta, but in other regions as well. It is unclear whether the lands of the Alexandrian citizens outside the *chora* were in some way connected with a larger, collective account that grouped all the land owned by or leased to Alexandrian citizens in Egypt.

A special category of evidence may tell us more about the property of Alexandria. A group of documentary papyri, all coming from the Roman period, refer in retrospect to a period in Egyptian history when the city of Alexandria owned land through an institution called the *oikos*, that is, the 'household,' of the city of the Alexandrians (in Greek οἶκος πόλεως τῶν ᾿Αλεξανδρέων, or simply οἶκος πόλεως). This institution, which had properties scattered in all regions of Egypt, has never been studied in its own right. This paper aims to examine the available evidence that can help to answer the following questions: What was an *oikos*? When was the *oikos* of Alexandria first created?

Origins of the oikos

In the Ptolemaic period the term οἶκος indicated the household or the estate of a prominent individual. According to the most common view, initiated by Rostovtzeff, the majority of the land of Egypt was the property of the *oikos* of the Ptolemaic king, but there were also smaller *oikoi* of the king's principal assistants and friends, such as the well-known *dioiketes* Apollonios, to which belonged the land that every farmer leased.[5] Rostovtzeff thought that the Roman gov-

[4] Although Rowlandson 1996, 107 thought it likely that the lands of the Alexandrians were *predominantly* situated within the designated *Alexandreon chora* in the Delta.

[5] Cf. Rostovtzeff 1941, 269, 325, 1197 and 1309; some instances of *oikia* occur in *P.Tebt.* I 40.11 (117 BC), and *BGU* VIII 1833.4 (51/50 BC), + *BL* 3.24.

ernment inherited this structure and continued it without significant change; however, in the Roman period the term *oikos* occurs almost always in connection with the estates of the emperor or of the city of Alexandria.[6]

The last known mention of the *oikos* of a private individual seems to be a late-Ptolemaic receipt from the Herakleopolite nome, *BGU* XIV 2368.14 of around 63 BC, which refers to people ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς βησ̣( ). Although the *editio princeps* suggests that this may have been the *oikos* of a woman, Βησ̣(αρίου), instead of βησ̣( ) one might be able to read βασ(ιλίσσης): the document may have referred to the estate of a Ptolemaic queen. The tax-list *BGU* IX 1897a.63 of AD 166 from Theadelphia in the Arsinoite describes some land as οἴκου Πτολε( ) πατρὸ̣ς βα[.]. It was believed that this land belonged to the *oikos* of a certain Ptolemaios, which would be one of the rare attestations of an *oikos* of a private individual in the Roman period. However, as Kambitsis first pointed out, this fragment may be restored to οἴκου Πτολε(μαίου) πατρὸς βα[σιλίσσης on the basis of a parallel document on which this formula is preserved in full, a *sitologos*-list from Theadelphia that was drawn a few years earlier, in AD 158/9.[7] The only Ptolemy who was renowned in the Roman period for being 'the father of the queen' can be, in my view, Cleopatra's father Ptolemy XII Auletes, to whose property these documents may have referred. Naturally this remains purely a hypothesis.

Earlier scholarship described the *oikos* of Alexandria as 'the patrimony of a city, in which converged donations, concessions and property bequeathed to the city,' and 'a corporate financial entity with landed property in the nomes.'[8] In the Roman world the term *oikos* was also used to indicate the Roman farm or *villa*, from the Catonian farm of the Roman Republican period, based on slave labour, to the farm that was at the centre of imperial estates and late-antique *latifundia*. It is possible that the organisation of the Ptolemaic *oikos* was similar to that of the Roman *villa*, that is, that the actual management of both was done through the so-called *vilicus*-system. But

[6] Cities began acquiring estates much later (third century AD), according to Rowlandson 1996, 68.

[7] P.Graux.inv.no. 2007–9, presented by Kambitsis 1988. On *BGU* 1897a see also *BL Konkordanz* 40.9.29 and 11.29.

[8] See the introduction to *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 269 and Bowman and Rathbone 1992, 117.

this does not tell us anything definite about the time at which the *oikos* was created.[9]

Some Roman documents clearly indicate that the *oikos* of Alexandria owned land that formerly belonged to Ptolemaic kings and queens. In *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 269 of AD 124, the Alexandrian Philotera, daughter of Ptolemaios, subleases some land near Tebtunis in the Arsinoite nome, which was described as οἴκου τῶν ᾿Αλεξανδρέων πρότερον Κλεοπάτρας βασιλίσσης ἀδελφῆς.[10] The *editio princeps* translated this as 'the property of the *oikos* of the Alexandrians, that had formerly belonged to queen Cleopatra, the Sister.' However, the phrase Κλεοπάτρας βασιλίσσης ἀδελφῆς could mean 'of the sister of queen Cleopatra,' and could refer to a younger sister of Cleopatra VII, and possibly to Arsinoe, whom Caesar brought to Rome and led in chains in his triumph after the Alexandrine war in 46 BC. Alternatively, it could mean 'of Cleopatra the sister of the queen' and refer to a sister of an earlier queen called Cleopatra.[11]

In *P.Fay.* 88.5–7, a receipt for rent that was issued to a farmer in AD 204, some land near Theadelphia is described as οἴκου πόλεως βασιλίσσης Πτολεμαίου Νέου Διονύσου. The first editors (Grenfell and Hunt) assumed that the *polis* in question was the capital of the Arsinoite nome, but there is no positive evidence to support this identification; on the contrary, the term *polis* with no further specification normally indicated Alexandria. The sentence in line 7 may mean 'land of the city, formerly belonging to the queen of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos.' It is likely that, as Gallazzi pointed out in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 269.30 n., the phrase βασιλίσσης Πτολεμαίου Νέου Διονύσου is a scribal error for the regular title βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Τρυφαίνης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Νέου Διονύσου, that is, Cleopatra Tryphaena, the wife of king Ptolemy Neos Dionysos.[12]

BGU IV 1182, a petition to a high official with reference to a five-year lease of land near Kerkesoucha in the Arsinoite, mentions some officials involved with an *oikos* (ll. 4–5 οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου παρὰ

[9] On Max Weber's theory of the equivalence between the Greek term *oikos* and the Latin *villa*, see Capogrossi Colognesi 1990, *passim*. On the *vilicus*-system as the system of management of Roman estates, see Aubert 1994.

[10] It is likely that this *oikos* is one and the same as the *oikos* that occurs in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 296 from the same time and place.

[11] See Heinen 1966, 142 and Table 2 p. 213 in Whitehorne 1994, for a stemma of the (later) Ptolemies.

[12] *Alias* Ptolemy Auletes. See *BL* 2.2.54; 8.122 and 11.78 on the dating. See *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 269.30n.

τοῦ τοῦ οἴκου ὑπερή[του]), and also refers to a queen (l. 6 [βα]σ̣ι̣λ̣ί̣σσης). This document is dated 14/13 BC. Thus the queen in question is likely to be Cleopatra VII, and the *oikos* may well be that of Alexandria.

Another interesting piece of evidence is *P.Oxy.* IV 807 = *SB* X 10534, an official list of sheep and goats of different people in a village in which some sheep are described as Ἀρσινόης φορικὰ. This phrase seems to indicate that the animals were subject to a special *phoros* payable to a certain Arsinoe. Grenfell and Hunt suggested that the sheep belonged to the estate of queen Arsinoe, the wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. However, the document does not say that Arsinoe was a queen, and she may have been a Ptolemaic princess, for instance Cleopatra's sister.[13]

In a document of AD 142/3, a group of people leases a plot of one hundred arouras near Sebennytos in the Arsinoite, and a fraction of an aroura belonging to an unspecified *oikos*; the lessors are called μισθωταῖς οἴκο[υ πρότερον] βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου [νυνί δὲ τοῦ ἱερω]τά[του ταμιεί]ου.[14] Assuming that Nicole's readings and restorations are correct, it seems that the land was initially the property of the *oikos* of a king Ptolemy and was subsequently taken over by a financial institution. In the papyri, the phrase ἱερώτατον ταμ(ι)εῖον generally indicates the Roman *fiscus*.[15] It is thus possible that this document referred to the property of the *oikos* of king Ptolemy XII Auletes, which may have been transferred to the *aerarium* in Rome on his death in 51 BC, and after the Roman conquest may have found its way into the imperial *fiscus*. It is also possible that in this document the term *tamieion* indicated a financial department in Alexandria (e.g. the *oikos*), which acquired part of the royal property.

One may wonder whether there is evidence for any other *oikos* outside Alexandria. It seems that, besides the *oikos* of Alexandria and that of the Roman emperors, some traditional Egyptian temples had their own *oikos* too. In *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 56 of AD 151, a certain Isidoros,

[13] *P.Oxy.* IV 807 = *SB* X 10534. The first editors (Grenfell and Hunt) dated it to 'about AD 1,' while Swarney 1968, assigned it to the Julio-Claudian period on a palaeographical basis and regarded the sheep as a *phoros*. The phrase Ἀρσινόης φορικά remains quite enigmatic; naturally, this Arsinoe might have been a private individual.

[14] P.Nicole.inv. 54. Nicole 1906, 225–6 transcribed only a part of the document, which still awaits full publication. Comments and suggestions for supplements may be found in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI p. 26 n. 1.

[15] As pointed out by Millar 1963, 29.

μισθωτὴς οἴκου of the νεωκόροι (lesser priests) of the great god Serapis, issues a receipt to Ptollarion, ex-gymnasiarch, for the lease of some land of the *oikos* near Tebtunis, possibly the estate of the temple of Tebtunis. *P.Mil.Vogl.* VII 302 of AD 152–4 refers *passim* to an οἴκ(ου) Ἀθη( ), which was believed to be the estate of the temple of Athena near Tebtunis. However, this remains hypothetical, as the *oikos* of Athena does not occur elsewhere.[16]

Apart from Alexandria, some other Greek cities may have had an *oikos* too. The city of Rhodes seems to have been one of them. *P.Oxy.* L 3593.27–8 and 56–7 of AD 238–44 is a contract of sale of slaves through a Rhodian bank, subscribed by the *neokoros* (a priestly/civic office) of the οἶκος τῆς πόλεως.[17] Overall, the documents suggest that in the Roman period the institution of the *oikos* existed in some Egyptian temples, and city-*oikoi* operated certainly at Alexandria and Antinoe (which was founded under Hadrian, and had Alexandria as a model), and, outside Egypt, at least in Rhodes.[18]

The Estate of Julius Asklepiades and the oikos *in Roman Documents*

The group of documents that mention the land of Ptolemaic kings and queens suggests that the later Ptolemies may have donated or bequeathed some of their land to the *oikos* of Alexandria in their time. However, it is also possible that the *oikos* was created after the Roman conquest, when Octavian redistributed some of the former royal land to new beneficiaries. I thus turn to the evidence that refers to the *oikos* of Alexandria in the Augustan period.

A group of documents from the Arsinoite nome shows that the *oikos* of Alexandria existed under Augustus, and gives some details about its internal organization. *P.Fay.* 87 of AD 155 tells us that an estate around Euhemeria that had belonged to the Alexandrian philosopher Julius Asklepiades—who lived under Augustus, as we

[16] Cf. *BL* 8.224.
[17] Cf. *BL* 9.203.
[18] That Naukratis possessed its own territory is suggested by *P.Rev.Laws* lx 18–25, and perhaps also by *P.Oslo.* III 92 (AD 130), which may have referred to land of the τιμοῦχοι, magistrates at Naukratis; however, the reading of this office in l. 6 is doubtful; cf. Sharp 1999, 219 n. 23. *PSI* V 449.6 refers to land in the Oxyrhynchite nome that belonged to the οἶκος τῶν Ἀντινοέων some time in the fourth century AD.

know from other sources—was bequeathed to the οἶκος πόλεως. This estate recurs in *P.Hamb.* I 36 of the second century AD, where a certain Dioskoros subleases to a farmer some land 'of Julius Asklepiades,' and in *P.Fay.* 82.14f of AD 145, where οὐσιακοὶ μισθωταί lease the land 'of Julius Asklepiades' and obtain the privilege of τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια or tax-free status.[19] However, the documents do not tell us whether Julius Asklepiades bequeathed his estate to the *oikos* of the city spontaneously or whether Alexandrian citizens had to leave their property to the *oikos* on their death. *P.Fay.* 82 also gives a better understanding of the internal structure of the *oikos*, showing that estate rentals were paid first into a local bank in the Arsinoite, and subsequently to the ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων, an Alexandrian official who seems to have been on the staff of the gymnasiarch. It is thus possible that the *oikos* was connected in some way with the Alexandrian gymnasium.[20]

Several documents show that the *oikos* of Alexandria owned estates throughout Egypt. *P.Coll.Youtie* I 63 of AD 155/6, a list of lessees and seed loans on land around Karanis in the Arsinoite, refers to the land of a πόλις (l. 120), probably Alexandria, along with ousiac land.[21] *BGU* XVI 2663, a letter of 9 BC, refers to certain rents from the lease of some ἐδάφη τοῦ οἴκου. The *editio princeps* translated this phrase as 'the foundations of the house,' but the translation 'the fields of the *oikos*' fits the context better.[22] A Hermopolite land-register of the first or second century AD, *P.Strasb.* I 23.4.75, mentions

[19] The philosopher Julius Asklepiades who left his property to the city of Alexandria in *P.Fay.* 82 and *P.Hamb.* I 36 may be one and the same as the Asklepiades of Mendes mentioned by Suet. *Aug.* 94.4; see *RE* II 1627 no. 26 and *PIR*² A 1199. A man of importance called Asklepiades recurs in *BGU* IV 1197.1, IV 1200.14 (where he is said to have gone to Italy), and XVI (*passim*), all of the Augustan period, and in the Herakleopolite archive so-called 'of Isidora and Asklepiades' in *BGU* IV 1203–9 (= Olsson nos. 1–7), from the early reign of Augustus. The *incipit* of the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians, *P.Lond.* VI 1912.17 = *CPJ* II 153, records Julius Asklepiades among the names of the Alexandrian *presbeis*; he may have been the son of the philosopher Asklepiades documented under Augustus. Julius Asklepiades 'the Younger' may have been the owner of the estate that was given to Antonia the daughter of Claudius in *BGU* IX 1893; see Parássoglou 1978, 12 n. 36; on Antonia see Hagedorn 1999, 216.

[20] *P.Fay.* 82 = *Sel.Pap.* II 269 + *BL Konkordanz*, 61. The ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων is documented in *CIG* 4705, ll. 4–6, in AD 232/3. The term στέμμα may be regarded as the equivalent of the Latin *ordo* or *familia*. On the role of the Alexandrian gymnasium in the administration of Egypt see Burkhalter 1992.

[21] Cf. *BL* 10.39.

an οὐσία οἴκου, which was interpreted as 'the treasury of the *ousia*,' but is much more likely to mean 'the estate of the *oikos*.'[23]

The estates of the *oikos* were leased to μισθωταὶ οἴκου, wealthy head-lessees who seem to have been, often if not always, Alexandrian citizens themselves, and who in turn leased plots of land to local small-scale farmers. To these head-lessees one may connect for instance the μεμισθωμένος οἴκου who issued a receipt for the rent on some land on an ostrakon, *WO* II 1256.7–8.[24] *P.Princ.* II 33 of AD 126 is a loan of 131 artabas of wheat for the farming of some land of the *oikos*, according to the instructions of a certain Kalokairos; the *oikos* might have been that of Alexandria, and Kalokairos a μισθωτής. One may connect the μισθωταὶ οἴκου with the people whom the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander defended in AD 68 against forced compulsory leases of estates (μισθώσεις οὐσιακαί). It is possible that, from the early Roman period, wealthy landowners, often Alexandrian citizens, were obliged by the state to lease dry or abandoned land from the public account, and put it back to cultivation by using their private capital.[25]

Conclusion

The papyrological evidence shows that, from the Roman period at the latest, the citizens of Alexandria owned and leased land not only in the surrounding 'Αλεξανδρέων χώρα, but in other regions as well. In addition there were estates and lands that the city of Alexandria owned through the *oikos* throughout Egypt. It seems that all this land had a privileged fiscal status. It remains unclear whether the *oikos* of Alexandria was an overall financial institution that controlled both the property of individual Alexandrian citizens and also the lands

[22] This document provides the only known attestation of an *oikos* in the Herakleopolite nome. On the dating cf. *BL* 11.36.

[23] + *BL Konkordanz* 239; *BL* 8.413. An οὐσία οἴκου Καίσαρος is found in *P.Lips.* 96.1.3 of the second or third century AD, while *P.Oxy.* XLII 3047.5 of AD 245 mentions some land of the *oikos* of Vespasian and Titus.

[24] + *BL Konkordanz* 293. The first edition dates the ostrakon to 136/5 BC, as the receipt is dated Year 35 of an unnamed ruler. There is the possibility—although minimal—that this ruler may have been Augustus and the dating AD 5.

[25] Cf. *OGIS* II 669.10–15. On *misthotai* as wealthy head-lessees, see Chalon 1964, 104–5, and Rowlandson 1996, 81.

owned by the city as an institution, but probably only new evidence can get us closer to the answer.

It is unknown how long the *oikos* of Alexandria lasted. One might speculate that the estates belonging to the *oikos* were transferred to the public account when Vespasian undertook a major reorganization of landholding whereby all imperial estates came to be administered by a financial department called οὐσιακὸς λόγος and were assimilated to public land. However, this seems to me implausible, as many of the documents examined above mention the *oikos* well after the Flavian period, and, in addition, the extant evidence consistently shows that Alexandrian citizens maintained their status of privileged landowners throughout the Roman period.[26]

When the *oikos* of Alexandria was first created remains an open question. From the lack of direct references in the Ptolemaic period one may suppose that it was a Roman innovation. At first sight it seems plausible that after the conquest, Augustus assigned some royal land to the *oikos* of Alexandria in order to gain the city's political support, necessary in a crucial phase for the empire. The creation of the city-*oikos* may have served to counteract the hostile attitude of the Alexandrian aristocracy towards Rome, to improve the finances of the city so that salaries could be paid to the city administrators, or to make up for the fact that Alexandria did not have a *boule*, a vexed problem both before and after the Roman conquest.[27]

However, the documents that mention the properties of the Ptolemaic royal family tell us a slightly different story, as they seem to indicate that there was a major turning point when the *oikos* of Alexandria acquired some land of Cleopatra's father Ptolemy Auletes, and probably also of his wife Cleopatra Tryphaena and their children.[28] This turning point may have been in 51 BC, when Ptolemy Auletes died and his will was opened in Rome by Julius Caesar, or in 48/7 BC, when Caesar came to Alexandria to fight the last phase of his war against Pompey. I regard the possibility that the *oikos* was cre-

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[26] See Parássoglou 1978, 27–9. *P.Ryl.* II 216 of the late second or early third century AD shows Alexandrian citizens paying a lower tax-rate on vineyards and gardens in the Mendesian nome than others. For some evidence of Alexandrian and Antinoite citizens who owned estates as private property in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Rowlandson 1996, 104–117, 182–3, 266/7 and 269 n. 188.

[27] The so-called *Boule*-Papyrus, *PSI* X 1160 = *CPJ* II 150, reports the account of a failed delegation of Alexandrians to Augustus that requested the restoration of the city council; for discussion and bibliography see Delia 1991, Chapter V.

[28] See Whitehorne 1994, 182, 185.

ated by Octavian after 30 BC as less likely because the documents describe the estates of the *oikos* as the former property of Ptolemy Auletes, a sign that Cleopatra had not yet entered the political stage. In fact, after her accession in 51 BC, all the royal properties must have become 'of queen Cleopatra,' and, by 30 BC, 'of the kings Cleopatra and Caesarion,' according to the traditional formula that was used in documents.

Auletes had always depended on the patronage of his influential friends in Rome: in 56 BC he had to pay a hefty sum to Caesar and Pompey in order to be restored to the throne as a *rex socius et amicus populi Romani*, and it is overwhelmingly likely that he was still indebted to Rome when he died in 51 BC. Caesar reports that the original will of Auletes was kept at Alexandria, and a copy was sent to Rome to be deposited in the *aerarium*, but because of '*publicas occupationes*,' it ended up in the hands of Pompey. This suggests that the will was chased after when Auletes was still alive, and that its contents may have been manipulated according to the changes in the political leadership at Rome.[29] In the end it was Julius Caesar who opened and enforced the will: the king bestowed the throne of Egypt on his eldest son and daughter, Ptolemy XIII and Cleopatra VII, who were to reign jointly, and appealed to the *populus Romanus* that his will be carried out and the accession of his heirs be recognised.[30]

In his *Bellum Civile* Caesar justified his intervention in the Egyptian affairs by claiming that the kings were allies of Rome; however, he did not expand on the financial implications of the succession.[31] In my view, it is possible that the publication of the will of Auletes in 51 BC and the influential role of Caesar had some repercussions on the acquisition of part of the royal properties by the *oikos* of Alexandria, an institution which may have been created on this occasion. This would be of great historical significance, since these events took place when Egypt was formally an independent kingdom, about twenty years before it was turned into a Roman province.

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[29] See Caes. *Bell.Alex.* 33.1–2, Caes. *BC* III 108, Dio XLII 44.2. On the *amicitia* between Ptolemy Auletes and Pompey and the role of Caesar in the recognition of Auletes as a king, see Heinen 1966, 9–10 and 144 n. 3.

[30] On Auletes's will and on royal wills in general, see Braund 1984, 136–7 and Chapter III.1.

[31] Caes. *BC* III 107–8.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PORTRAYALS OF THE WISE AND VIRTUOUS IN ALEXANDRIAN JEWISH WORKS: JEWS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEMSELVES AND OTHERS

Ellen Birnbaum

Amid the cosmopolitan blend of different peoples, creeds, and practices in ancient Alexandria, Jews and their traditions were an important component. As the predominant Greek and Egyptian cultures mingled, Jews were challenged to participate in the larger society while maintaining their cherished ancestral traditions. Rising to this challenge, Alexandrian Jews produced a multifaceted literature that exhibits a range of perceptions about themselves and their neighbors. To sample this range of perceptions, we shall focus upon a selection of works from this literature.

In the decades and centuries after Alexander the Great, many Jews left their ancestral homeland of Judaea and migrated to Alexandria and Egypt, motivated by a variety of factors. Some Jews enlisted as soldiers; others sought escape from political troubles at home; still others were brought as captives or slaves. Lively trade between Egypt and Syria drew even more Jews away from their homeland, and the promise of new opportunity—whether economic, social, or otherwise—was yet another magnet.[1] Even if we dismiss as exaggerated Philo's claim that the Jewish population in Alexandria and Egypt numbered a million (*Flacc.* 43), by the first century CE Jews undoubtedly constituted a significant minority in both city and country.

For the most part, Jews seem to have flourished in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Alexandria, especially under the Ptolemies (323–30 BCE). Certainly the success of this community can be measured not only in its numbers but in its cultural and social riches as well. The

[1] On Jewish immigration to Egypt, see Tcherikover 1957, 1–19; Barclay 1996, 20–34; J. Collins 2000, 3–5.

all-important translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek was authoritative for this community, and Alexandrian Jewish writers produced a dazzling array of literature that showed how they could select from different cultures to produce something quite new. In addition, Jews appear to have penetrated all levels of society. Josephus, for example, speaks of them as serving in the highest military ranks of the Ptolemaic army.[2] In early Roman times (ca. 40 CE), Philo refers to Jewish traders, farmers, shippers, merchants, and artisans (*Flacc.* 57). A poorer class of Jews, whom Philo does not mention, is evidenced by the documentary papyri.[3]

Despite the mostly positive indications that Jews indeed prospered and thrived in Alexandria, one of the unfortunate by-products of the intermingling of peoples was an increased tension among different groups. In 38 CE, this tension resulted in one of the earliest known anti-Jewish uprisings in history. Scholars have debated what precisely led to this violence and, as with so many other complex phenomena, there were probably several contributing factors. These factors may have included the chafing of Alexandrian nationalists against Roman rule, the question of citizenship rights for Jews, Jews' apparently strange religious beliefs and separatist practices, and anti-Jewish hostility among different segments of the population. Suggestions of these factors can be found in Philo's works, in papyrological evidence reflecting the Alexandrian nationalist position, and in fragmentary citations—preserved mainly by Josephus—from anti-Jewish writers who had some connection with Alexandria.[4]

In the decades following this clash, relations between Jews and non-Jews appear to have deteriorated even further. In 66 CE, tensions erupted again. Finally, in 115–117 CE, Alexandrian Jews' par-

[2] *Against Apion* 2.49, *Antiquities* 13.349.

[3] For excellent surveys of Jewish life in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, see Tcherikover (1957, 1–93), who emphasizes the range of economic classes among Jews; Barclay 1996, 19–81. Both writers underscore that Jewish life in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt must be considered quite separately.

[4] Our main sources about this episode are Philo's treatises *In Flaccum* and *De Legatione ad Gaium* (*Legat.*). For related papyrological evidence, see Tcherikover and Fuks 1960, 2:25–107. Josephus records excerpts from anti-Jewish writers in his *Against Apion*. Several secondary sources also discuss various background aspects of these riots; see, e.g., Tcherikover 1957, 55–74; Barclay 1996, 48–71; Barraclough 1984, 421–36, 449–75; Kasher 1985; Schäfer 1997, 136–60; Goudriaan 1992, 86–94; and Pucci Ben Zeev 1990. Also helpful are the commentaries on *Flacc.* by Box (1939) and on *Legat.* by Smallwood (1970).

ticipation in widespread Diaspora revolts under Trajan effectively put an end to their community.[5]

Whether the uprising in 38 CE was an aberration in Jewish-non-Jewish relations in Alexandria—as one scholar has recently argued—or whether it was the culmination of a long-smoldering hostility—as Philo himself suggests—is an intriguing question not easily decided.[6] However one may view the overall picture of relations between Jews and non-Jews in Alexandria, our task in this paper will be to examine simply one aspect of this issue, namely, how Alexandrian Jews perceived themselves and others.[7]

Most, though not all, of the available evidence is literary, and the literary works present a range of difficulties.[8] Many of the writings survive in only fragmentary form, having been preserved as excerpts by later Christian writers. To be sure, these writings—which include, among other genres, tales of adventure and romance, a drama about the Exodus, biblical commentaries, and prophetic oracles—attest to a vibrant interaction between Jews and the surrounding culture.[9] Unfortunately, however, these works do not always directly express how Jews saw themselves and their neighbors; instead one must glean such attitudes as are implied in this literature from statements pertaining to Jews, Greeks, Egyptians, and other non-Jews.

Also vexing are questions about the date and provenance of these

[5] Josephus, *War* 2.487–98; Tcherikover 1957, 78–93; Barclay 1996, 72–81.

[6] Gruen 2002a, 54–83; Philo, *Flacc.* 29, *Legat.* 120.

[7] This topic overlaps with attempts to define Jewish identity, but our concern is with only one element of this identity, namely, Jewish self-perceptions in relation to others. On the broader issue of Jewish identity, particularly in ancient Alexandria, see Barclay 1996, 82–102, 399–444; J. Collins 2000, esp. 1–26; Sterling 1995; Mendelson 1988; and Niehoff 2001, esp. 1–13. For non-Jewish attitudes towards Jews, see Josephus, *Against Apion*; Stern 1974; Schäfer 1997, 15–118; J. Collins 2000, 6–13.

[8] For the non-literary evidence, see Musurillo 1954; Tcherikover and Fuks 1957–60; Horbury and Noy 1992; Modrzejewski 1995, 73–98. On the limitations of this evidence, see Barclay 1996, 28, 98–124.

[9] Fragments preserved by such Christian writers as Clement and Eusebius often derive from intermediary sources like Alexander Polyhistor (Strugnell 1985, Holladay 1983, 1:1–9). Tales of adventure and romance include Joseph and Aseneth and the fragments of Artapanus; the drama about the Exodus is by Ezekiel the Tragedian; biblical commentaries include several treatises by Philo; and prophetic oracles include Books 3 and 5 of the Sibylline Oracles. Other writings thought to be Alexandrian include the fragmentary writings of Demetrius and Aristobulus, the Letter of Aristeas, 3 Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Solomon; parts of the Septuagint may also reflect Alexandrian influence.

works. Because Alexandria was the most important Jewish Diaspora community of its time, many scholars assume that—unless indications point to the contrary—most Jewish works written in Greek are Alexandrian. Such an assumption is often reasonable—especially when a source mentions Alexandria itself—but this is not always an indisputable conclusion. Furthermore, even when an Alexandrian provenance is virtually assured, we frequently cannot pinpoint the date of certain writings to within so much as a particular century. Finally, the literary works obviously represent the perspectives of a class of Jews educated in Greek culture who had the leisure and ability to compose these writings; whatever views may have been held by other Jews remain, for all practical purposes, inaccessible to us.[10]

To obtain a sense of the contrasts in the ways Jews saw themselves and others, we shall examine how three sources—the Letter of Aristeas, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the works of Philo—portray wise and good people in relation to Jews and non-Jews as well as how these sources speak of Jews and non-Jews in general. This is a worthwhile approach for several reasons. For one, all three sources are especially interested in groups that can be generally described as wise and good people; in fact such interest is more prominent in these writings than in other Jewish works thought to be Alexandrian. All three sources are also concerned about relations between Jews and non-Jews. In addition, each source presents different ideas about how wise and virtuous groups intersect with Jews and non-Jews. These differences, moreover, carry broader implications about how the authors of these works viewed the role of Jews within the larger society and about how circumstances in this larger society may have evolved over time.

Another advantage to this approach is that our specific focus upon the wise and virtuous will allow us to analyze these complex writ-

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[10] The extent to which Alexandrian Jews were literate in Greek is extremely difficult to ascertain, and the question of how many Jews had a Greek education may involve the further complicated issue of their political status (see, e.g., Tcherikover 1957, 36–43). Generally speaking, in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt full literacy was found chiefly among upper classes of society (Harris 1989, 116–46, 276–81). It should also be noted that although Jewish writers display close familiarity with Greek language, culture, and forms of expression, this familiarity does not necessarily indicate their attitudes toward Greeks or toward outsiders in general; see, e.g., Barclay 1996, 96–98, 191.

ings in some detail. The Letter of Aristeas and the Wisdom of Solomon are complete rather than fragmentary works, and Philo has left us a large corpus of over forty extant treatises. The Letter of Aristeas—which probably dates to Ptolemaic times[11]—narrates, among other things, an encounter, thought by many to be fictitious, between the wise and virtuous Jewish translators of the Hebrew Bible, on the one hand, and the Ptolemaic king, his court philosophers, and various additional courtiers and non-Jews, on the other hand.

The Wisdom of Solomon, whose provenance is most likely Alexandria, comes from a later period—perhaps late Ptolemaic, but more probably early Roman. Unlike the Letter of Aristeas, this work deals with a more abstract setting. A major theme of the Wisdom of Solomon is the contrast between the righteous and the ungodly, presented as two distinct classes. Although the identity of these classes is somewhat ambiguous in the opening section, as the work progresses these categories become more clearly associated with Jews and non-Jews, respectively.

Finally, of all the Alexandrian Jewish literature, the writings of Philo (ca. 20 BCE–50 CE) are the most voluminous and indeed the most informative about the social and political conditions of the time. Though most of his treatises are biblical commentaries, two works in particular—*In Flaccum* and *De Legatione ad Gaium*—describe circumstances in Alexandria (and elsewhere) before, during, and shortly after the anti-Jewish violence of 38 CE. Like the Letter of Aristeas, Philo is also interested in Jewish and non-Jewish sages, and he reports on explicit interactions between Jews and non-Jews in Alexandria. Unlike the Letter, however, Philo does not always distinguish clearly between sages who are Jewish and those who are not, and his accounts—while colored by his particular biases and rhetorical aims—are not fictitious. In the Letter of Aristeas, moreover, interactions between Jews and non-Jews are restricted to the wise and virtuous; in Philo's accounts such interactions encompass a broader spectrum of the population. Like the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo too envisions a class of wise and virtuous people, but in his writings

[11] Issues of dating will be addressed in more detail below (see infra, nn. 15, 30, and 31).

the identity of members of this class appears to transcend ethnic or cultural categories more often than in the Wisdom of Solomon.

These three sources, then, portray in very different ways how wise and good people may overlap with Jews and non-Jews. All three sources, however, also display other ways of speaking about Jews and non-Jews. One of our concerns, then, will be to determine in each source who the wise and good people are, both among Jews and non-Jews.[12] Another will be to ascertain the degree to which these writers distinguish among non-Jews by associating them with Greeks, Egyptians, and other ethnic or cultural groups.[13] Beyond these questions, we shall be especially interested in whether our authors consider Jews and non-Jews to be equal—i.e., equally wise and virtuous—or regard Jews as somehow superior—i.e., more wise and virtuous than non-Jews.[14] If authors hold the latter view, in what ways do they believe that Jews surpass others? The answers to these questions will reveal the complexity in these writers' perceptions and may also suggest how social and political conditions in Alexandria evolved from the Ptolemaic through the early Roman periods.

[12] Generally speaking the categories of the wise and the good are practically interchangeable. On the comparable synonymy of "wise" and "righteous" in the biblical Book of Proverbs, see Kugel 1999, 171.

[13] During this period, designations like "Greeks" and "Egyptians" appear to encompass not only ethnic groups, but also groups with a similar linguistic or cultural background. See, e.g., Thompson 2001a; Goudriaan 1988, 1–21, 116–9; Fraser 1998, 2a:138 n. 138; Birnbaum 2001. Because it can be difficult to ascertain whether a designation signifies an ethnic group or a cultural one, I use these designations with both senses in mind.

[14] None of the authors expresses the view that Jews are inferior to non-Jews. The aim of presenting Jews as "at least equal to other peoples, if not superior" (Goodman 1986, 3:594) is characteristic of several Jewish works composed in Greek. Recognizing this aim, scholars have debated whether this literature was written for primarily apologetic (i.e., defensive), missionary, or morale-boosting purposes. This question is intimately tied with that of the intended audience(s) of these works. Were authors motivated by a desire to convince non-Jews to accept (or at least tolerate) Jews, to persuade non-Jews to convert to Judaism, or to encourage Jews themselves to have confidence and take pride in their heritage? Without addressing these issues about the literature as a whole, I touch upon these questions in different parts of this paper. See, especially, infra nn. 26, 27, 61, 77. For important discussions, with references to other pertinent literature, see Tcherikover 1956; Barclay 2002. See also J. Collins 2000, esp. 14–6; Barclay 2001.

The Letter of Aristeas

We begin with the Letter of Aristeas, which purports to describe the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–247 BCE). Most scholars believe, however, that this work was written later—perhaps by more than a century—and that the account is a legend.[15] In this work, the wise and virtuous among non-Jews are portrayed quite positively: they are described as being noble, revering the same God as the Jews, and showing great interest in and respect for Jews. Underlying this depiction, however, is a sense that the Jews are religiously and morally superior—i.e., that the wise and virtuous Jews are superior to the wise and virtuous non-Jews and that Jews in general are superior to non-Jews.

The so-called "Letter" is more precisely a narrative (*di g sis*, 1, 8, 322) with several different sections: after an introductory address to Philocrates, presented as the narrator Aristeas' brother, the work is framed by a report—first, of the initiation of the translation and then, of its completion—followed by an epilogue, addressed again to Philocrates. Between these opening and closing sections is a variety of material, including an account of the king's release of Jewish slaves, his letter to the Jewish high priest Eleazar requesting the translation, the high priest's response, a lengthy description of the king's gifts to the Jerusalem Temple, the narrator's journey with the courtier Andreas to Jerusalem and the Temple, Eleazar's explanation of Jewish practices, the king's reception of the translators in Alexandria, and the royal banquet for the translators, during which the king questions and receives answers from each of the seventy-two translators over a period of seven days.[16]

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[15] In the introduction to his commentary and translation, Hadas (1951, 3–54) offers a detailed consideration of the purported authorship and date of this work; he himself suggests a possible date of 130 BCE. For other discussions, see Tramontano 1931, 48–91; Pelletier 1962, 57–8; Meisner 1973, 42–3; Gruen 1998, 210 n. 76. Without pinpointing a specific year, I assume the Letter to have been composed sometime during the second century BCE. N. Collins (2000) has recently challenged the consensus that the account is fictional, and she is not the first to do so (see e.g., Bickerman 1976, 167–75; Modrzejewski 1995, 99–106; cf. Gruen 1998, 209 n. 67). In this paper, translations of the Letter of Aristeas are from Hadas (1951), and I have relied upon his Greek text, which comes from Thackeray 1902. Numbers in parentheses refer to passages of the Letter.

[16] For a more detailed outline, with references to passages, see Pelletier 1962, 323; for occurrences of the word *di g sis*, see the Index Verborum in Pelletier 1962,

Calling himself Aristeas, the narrator claims to be one of the king's attendants. Indeed the author's familiarity with Alexandria, Greek culture, and aspects of the Ptolemaic court strongly point to an Alexandrian provenance for this document. At the same time, however, because he shows so much familiarity with and sympathy for Jewish ways, scholars believe that the author was probably a Jew writing under a pseudonym. From the perspective of our topic, namely, how Jews perceived themselves and others, it will be important to remember that the author presents Jewish perceptions supposedly through the eyes of a non-Jewish observer.

On the whole, the Letter of Aristeas distinguishes clearly between Jews and non-Jews, whether between these groups in general or between the wise and good of each group in particular. Among the Jews, the wise and good include the high priest Eleazar and the seventy-two translators from Judaea, while among the non-Jews the wise and the good encompass a range of people: the king; various members of his court, including Aristeas and the philosophers; Egyptian priests; and certain named writers and other individuals like Philocrates. It is interesting that the ethnicity or cultural background of these non-Jews is rarely mentioned; instead the most important distinction seems to be between those who are Jewish and those who are not.[17]

The author generally portrays the wise and good among both Jews and non-Jews in a positive light, and the work describes them all in similar terms, through different people's eyes—whether those of Aristeas, the king, or the high priest Eleazar. Thus Aristeas characterizes the high priest Eleazar as "highly esteemed both by his countrymen and by others for his worth (*kalokagathia*) and renown (*doxa*)" (3). In a letter to Eleazar, the king notes that he is sending his attendants Andreas and Aristeas, "whom we hold in honor" (40). In his response, Eleazar calls these two delegates "true gentlemen (*andres kaloi kai agathoi*) both, outstanding in culture, and in every respect

273. Hadas (1951, 56–8) emphasizes that the Letter should be seen as a narrative. Following convention, however, I will refer to this document as "the Letter of Aristeas" or "the Letter" and to the narrator as either "Aristeas" or the narrator. As explained below in the paper, the author may be distinguished from the narrator.

[17] The word *Ioudaios* (Jew) and related terms occur chiefly at the beginning and end of the Letter but almost never in scenes in which the two groups interact (see the Index Nominum in Pelletier 1962, 319). Nonetheless it is clear that Eleazar and the translators are Jewish and that all other figures are not.

worthy of your own conduct and righteousness" (43). Both Aristeas and Eleazar praise the Jewish translators: Aristeas describes them as highly cultured and educated men of distinguished ancestry, at home with both Jewish tradition and Greek learning (121–2), and Eleazar calls them elders who are noble and good (*andres kaloi kai agathoi presbyteroi*, 46).

The same tone of respect and equality between Jews and non-Jews is also conveyed through certain discussions about and references to God, whom both Jews and non-Jews are portrayed as revering. In pleading with the king to release the Jewish slaves, for example, Aristeas makes the following noteworthy appeal, declaring that he and the king himself worship the same God as the Jews:

> [W]ith a perfect and bountiful spirit release those who are afflicted in wretchedness, for the same God who has given them their law guides your kingdom also. . . . God, the overseer and creator of all things, whom they worship, is He whom all men worship, and we too, your majesty, though we address him differently, as Zeus and Dis. . . . (15–6)

Aristeas prays to God that the king will release the Jewish slaves, and others in the royal court refer to God as well (17–21). When the king writes to Eleazar, he speaks of the release of the slaves as a thank-offering to "God the Most High" (*ho megistos theos*, 37). In his response, Eleazar lauds the king for "the piety you cherish for our God" (42), and he prays that "God Lord of all" will preserve the kingdom (45). Upon receiving the translators in Alexandria, the king thanks God (177). At the opening of the banquet, Elisha, the oldest priest among the Jewish translators, calls upon God in praying for the king (184–5). Indeed throughout the banquet each translator includes a reference to God in his answer, for which they all receive great praise from the king.

Despite the suggestions of equality conveyed by the similar descriptions of Jews and non-Jews, by their mutual respect, and by the implication that they all revere the same God, it becomes clear at a number of points that the author wishes to portray the Jews as superior in their wisdom. For one thing, Eleazar refers to the God who is worshipped by all as "our God" (42), suggesting that there is a specific and primary relationship between the universal God and the particular Jewish nation. The impression of superiority, however, comes across most saliently in the banquet scene and in Eleazar's explanation of the Jewish food laws. During the banquet (187–294),

the king and his attendants, particularly the philosophers, express great admiration for their Jewish guests. The feast spans seven days with the king questioning ten translators on each day and eleven on each of the last two days. After each reply, the king voices his approval. At the end of each day's questioning, he expresses hearty appreciation for the wisdom of his guests, and then usually all who are present turn to enjoyment of the feast.[18]

We are not told exactly who is present among the king's attendants, but the narrator notes that on several days they join the king in his acclamation of the translators. Aristeas specifically cites philosophers among the admirers, mentioning one by name as Menedemus of Eritrea.[19] What especially impresses them are the translators' constant references to God:

> Then with a fuller voice the king greeted them all [the translators] and spoke kindly to them, with the others present, especially the philosophers, joining in the commendation. For in their conduct and discourse these men were far in advance of the philosophers, for they made their starting-point from God. (235)

The sages among the Jews and non-Jews, then, are all presented in a favorable light, but the Jewish wise are recognized as more advanced on account of their continual recognition of God as all-powerful and all-knowing. In contrast, the positive qualities of the non-Jewish philosophers seem to reside in their ability to appreciate and be receptive to the Jewish translators and their higher wisdom. Aristeas is careful, however, not to portray the translators as arrogant, noting that they "avoided conceit and the assumption of superiority over others" (122).[20]

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[18] The king leads in praising the translators' wisdom on all but the fifth day (261) when everyone declares their approval and the king is not singled out, though he then toasts the health of his guests. Hadas (1951, 55) remarks upon "the extraordinary variety of expressions used" to indicate royal appreciation of the translators, and he sees this characteristic as an indication of "the 'literary' nature of the book."

[19] Another detail is that on the seventh day the audience is enlarged by many delegates from the cities (275). Those present join the king in applauding the translators at the end of Days 1, 3, 4, 5, and 7 (passages 200, 235, 247, 261, and 293). Philosophers are mentioned on Days 1 and 3 and in Aristeas' summary remarks (200–1, 235, and 296), and Menedemus is specifically cited in passage 201. Hadas (1951, 178, note on passage 201) comments that Menedemus (ca. 350–287) was a Socratic associated with belief in divine providence. On the anachronistic allusions to several writers and thinkers, see infra n. 23.

[20] During the banquet the translators' modesty is highlighted again when the king

Eleazar's explanation of the Jewish dietary laws to Aristeas and Andreas in Jerusalem (128–71) parallels the royal banquet in Alexandria in the sense that inquisitive and receptive non-Jews learn wisdom from the Jews. At the banquet, however, the lessons pertain to a range of universal philosophical issues, whereas Eleazar's discourse is about specifically Jewish practices and beliefs. The banquet, moreover, highlights the wisdom and virtue of the Jewish sages—i.e., the translators—in particular, whereas Eleazar's explanation of the laws encompasses all Jews, who, he argues, are superior not only to the wise and virtuous of the Greeks and the Egyptians but also to non-Jews in general. As with the translators, the basis of the Jews' superiority lies in their belief in the one omnipotent and omniscient God (130–3).

In contrast to other passages in which non-Jews appear to believe in the same God as the Jews, in this section Eleazar declares "that all other men except ourselves believe that there are many gods. . . ." (134). He goes on to decry idol worship and myth-making, observing that "those who devise and fashion such fables consider that they are the wisest of the Greeks" (137).[21] He also disparages Egyptians and those like them, who worship both live and dead animals (138).

To protect the Jews from these types of false worship and to separate them from other nations, Eleazar asserts that the Jewish legislator Moses established laws, which serve as "impregnable palisades" and "walls of iron" (139). He then explains several laws allegorically. What most underscores the separation between Jews and non-Jews is his account of why Jews eat only animals that chew their cud and have a cloven hoof. According to him, the cloven hoof signifies, among other things,

> that we are set apart from all men. For most of the rest of mankind defile themselves by their promiscuous unions, working great unrighteousness, and whole countries and cities pride themselves on these

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asks one of them how he might find acceptance when visiting abroad. The translator replies, "By becoming everyone's equal . . . and by behaving rather as an inferior than as a superior to those among whom you sojourn. For God accepts alike what is humble in nature, and the human race deals kindly with the lowly" (257). See also passage 170, part of which is quoted below in the text.

[21] Enlightened Greeks themselves as well as other non-Jews may have held similar opinions about those who fabricated myths; see, e.g., J. Collins 2000, 193; Holladay 1992, 147–8.

> vices. Not only do they have intercourse with males, but they even defile mothers and daughters. But we have been kept apart from such things. (151–2)

At the end of this section, the "non-Jewish" Aristeas comments that he appreciates Eleazar's defense of the Jewish practices and admires the meaning of the Jewish sacrifices, which remind the sacrificer to be "conscious of no arrogance in themselves" (170).

The Letter of Aristeas, then, expresses two contrasting tendencies: sometimes Jews and non-Jews are presented as equals who recognize the same God, are similarly virtuous, and mingle together. At other times Jews are presented as superior to non-Jews, religiously distinct, more virtuous—especially in terms of sexual behavior—and socially separate. Many scholars have argued that one tendency or the other predominates.[22]

Instead of assessing which tendency predominates, however, it may be more helpful to view the Letter as an idealized portrayal of Jews' standing in Alexandrian society. It is striking that in Aristeas' account each and every one of the wise and virtuous among non-Jews is curious about and admiring of the Jews, their law, and/or their belief in God. We have already seen how this description fits Aristeas himself, Andreas, the philosophers, and the king. Even the "minor characters," however—i.e., figures who are mentioned in passing—are portrayed in this way. Demetrius of Phalerum, for example, is the king's librarian who first recommends translating the Jewish law books for inclusion in the library (9–11). Similarly, the historian Hecataeus of Abdera is said to have recognized the sanctity of these Jewish books (31). The historian Theopompus and the tragic poet Theodectus had both wished to quote from earlier—albeit unauthorized—translations of the Jewish Law (314–6).[23] Aristeas praises his brother

[22] See, e.g., Barclay (1996, 138–50) and Gruen (1998, 215–8), who argue that the Letter promotes the stance of Jewish superiority. Hadas (1951, 61–4; see also 152, note on passage 129) and J. Collins (2000, 191–5), however, perceive a more universalistic emphasis in the work. Holladay (1992, 149) asserts that the Letter "is unapologetically separatist, but not triumphalist, since it explicitly disallows attitudes of superiority and arrogant behavior (122)."

[23] Along with Menedemus of Eritrea (see supra, n. 19), figures such as Demetrius of Phalerum (born ca. 350 BCE), Hecataeus of Abdera (a contemporary of Alexander the Great), Theopompus (ca. 376–300 BCE), and Theodectus (ca. 380–334 BCE) do not fit in chronologically with the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–247

Philocrates' interest in Jewish views (1–2, 5–7), noting that the information he is transmitting about the Jews comes from "the most erudite High Priests in the most erudite land of Egypt" (6). Egyptian priests are also said to praise Jews as "'men of God (*anthropoi theou*)' a title applicable to none others but only to him who reveres the true God" (140).

The two tendencies expressing equality and superiority—what Victor Tcherikover has called a "duality" in this work[24]—may well reflect important aspects of the Jewish experience in the Alexandrian Diaspora. Jews may indeed have held many of their non-Jewish neighbors in high regard and may have shared similar values with some of them. Nonetheless aspects of the majority culture which many Jews spurned—such as idol worship, animal worship, and certain kinds of sexual behavior—may also have prevailed.[25] King Ptolemy Philadelphus himself, for example, was married to his own sister.

The Letter of Aristeas, then, may have addressed this ambivalent situation in different ways. The author recognizes aspects of the majority culture with which he feels compatible but decries those aspects which he considers unworthy. Rather than dwelling too much on these negative aspects, however, the author portrays all the leading men of the dominant non-Jewish culture as being intensely interested in and appreciative of the wisdom of the minority culture. In so doing, he may be projecting his wishes for recognition of and respect for Jewish wisdom onto these distinguished representatives of the larger society. Indeed, from this perspective, we might understand the Letter of Aristeas to be a Jewish Diaspora fantasy, written primarily to bolster Jews' confidence, but maybe to impress non-Jews as well.[26] In contrast, perhaps, to the reality whereby Jews

BCE). See Hadas 1951, 96, 110–11, 178, 223, 224, notes ad loc.; and Gruen 1998, 209–11. For our purposes, what is most significant is that these thinkers and writers are presented as taking an interest in Jews and their tradition.

[24] Tcherikover 1958, 63, 79, 84.

[25] Indeed one or more of these themes appear in other supposedly Alexandrian Jewish writings, such as Books 3 and 5 of the Sibylline Oracles, the fragments of Artapanus, the Wisdom of Solomon, Joseph and Aseneth, and Philo.

[26] As several scholars have noted, the fantasy of wish fulfillment can be found in many Jewish Diaspora stories, such as Esther, Daniel, Judith, and Joseph and Aseneth (see, e.g., Greenstein 1987, esp. 233; Levenson 1997, 16–7; Berlin 2001, xxxiv–xxxvi; Wills 1990, 197–8, and 1995, 220–1; Gruen 2002a, 135–81). The wish

had to negotiate between the dominant culture and their own privately treasured heritage, this ideal portrait places the two elements in equal balance. To be sure, underlying the positive portrayal of the non-Jews is the view that Jews are superior. Eleazar makes this point clearly in his allegorical explanations of Jewish laws. That such views could be stated so baldly to non-Jews and received by them so admiringly is part of this Jewish fantasy. The real point, then, is that Jews and their culture not only excel all others but are recognized as doing so by the cream of Alexandrian society.[27]

Expressing no tension between Jews and non-Jews, the Letter seems to reflect a peaceful environment in which Jews and non-Jews might live together with mutual regard. Such circumstances accord with what we generally know of Alexandrian Jewish life in Ptolemaic times, and this observation lends further support to the argument that the Letter of Aristeas was produced during this period.[28]

The Wisdom of Solomon

The Wisdom of Solomon, by contrast, yields a rather different picture, reflecting great hostility between Jews and non-Jews. Unlike the Letter of Aristeas with its Ptolemaic court setting, this text makes no

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in these fantasies is typically for increased Jewish influence upon the larger society, whether this influence be a matter of political position, physical might, or culture. Although the Letter of Aristeas may represent a somewhat different genre from these other, novelistic, works about Jews in the Diaspora, it is useful to recognize the common element of wish fulfillment fantasy that runs through all of them (see also infra, n. 27). As for the intended audience of such works, it is likely that they were written primarily for Jews, but one need not exclude the possibility that authors may have had non-Jews in mind as well. See supra, n. 14.

[27] This point has been especially highlighted by Gruen (1998, 202–22), who emphasizes that the theme of Jewish superiority runs though Graeco-Jewish literature from both the Diaspora and Palestine (Gruen 1998, 137–297; 2002a, 135–231; 2002b, 78–132). In his insightful and important studies, Gruen focuses upon the qualities of humor, irony, and playfulness in this literature. To the extent that these qualities are present, however, I believe that they are often best understood as aspects of a wish fulfillment fantasy (as described in n. 26). In other words, the desire for and envisioning of greater influence and recognition of Jews within the (usually) dominant non-Jewish society were in general the primary impulse which led authors to create imaginary situations that were humorous and ironic.

[28] Note, however, the following cautionary remark: "[O]ne can never break free completely of the hermeneutic circle in which we date a text by what we think it is saying while at the same time we interpret it to fit the date we assign to it" (Berlin 2002, 113 n. 3).

clear references to contemporary circumstances. Many allusions are fairly abstract, while perhaps a third of the book deals with the biblical account of the Israelites in Egypt. Here and throughout the work, however, no proper names are used. Instead the author speaks in broad terms of the righteous and the ungodly.[29] The date and provenance of this source are therefore difficult to ascertain. Scholars have suggested dates ranging from Ptolemaic to early Roman times, and most modern critics generally favor the early Roman dating.[30] The work has no characteristics that associate it unequivocally with Alexandria, but its unmistakably Hellenistic traits as well as its emphasis upon–and indeed criticism of—Egyptians strongly suggest an Alexandrian provenance.[31]

Although the book appears loosely to be composed of three different sections, consensus holds that they are all part of a single, unified work encompassing a variety of genres. One genre is the didactic exhortation, or protreptic discourse, that is, an appeal to choose a certain way of life—here, the way of righteousness and wisdom. Another genre is the encomium—i.e., praise—of wisdom, in contrast to the exhortation to pursue it. In addition, the book as a whole falls into the broad category of wisdom literature, whose general concern is the pursuit of wisdom but whose precise characteristics are difficult to pinpoint.[32] In one section, the author presents himself as none other than wise King Solomon, an obvious impossibility. I will therefore refer to the narrator/author as "pseudo-Solomon."[33]

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[29] "Righteous" (*dikaios*) and "ungodly" (*aseb s*) are the more commonly used terms to describe the two groups, but the author has other descriptions as well; see, e.g., Enns 1997, 155–68; Barclay 1996, 185–6, 189. In this paper, translations of the Wisdom of Solomon are from Metzger 1977, 102–27, and I have relied upon the Greek text in Rahlfs 1965, 2:345–76. Numbers in parentheses refer to chapter and verse from the Wisdom of Solomon.

[30] For various positions, see Larcher 1983, 1:141–61; Gilbert 1991, 91–3; Grabbe 1997, 87–90; Winston 1979, 20–25; Cheon 1997, 125–49; Collins 1997, 179.

[31] On Hellenistic traits, see especially Reese 1970. For discussion of the provenance, see Grabbe 1997, 90–1; Collins 1997, 178; Larcher 1983, 1:131–9. Winston (1979, 20–25) and his student Cheon (1997, 125–49) believe that the work was composed around the time of the Alexandrian riots in 38 CE; for them, date and provenance are closely linked. Georgi (1980, 395–6) suggests a Syrian setting, but his proposal has not won scholarly support.

[32] Both Collins (1997, 179–82) and Grabbe (1997, 18–28) succinctly summarize the various arguments. For a detailed treatment, see Gilbert 1991, 66–91.

[33] Solomon is not mentioned explicitly, but his identity is implied in the first-person references in 6:22–9:18. In this work it is difficult to distinguish between the

Our interest in this source will be specifically in the characteristics of the righteous and their adversaries, the extent to which these two groups can be linked with Jews and non-Jews, the author's perceptions about Jews and others, and possible reflections of the environment in which this work was written. Because the sections of this work are somewhat distinct, we shall consider them individually. These sections include:

1) a discussion of rewards and punishments (1:1–6:21),
2) a long praise of wisdom (6:22–9:18), and
3) a review of history (10:1–19:22).[34]

Especially pertinent are the first and third sections, for these focus upon the righteous and the wicked, whereas the middle part is chiefly concerned with a celebration of wisdom. In the first section, the identity of the righteous and their opponents is somewhat vague, although one passage suggests that the unholy may refer to contemporary Jewish apostates. By the end of the work, however, it becomes clear that the author associates the righteous with faithful Jews and their biblical ancestors, and the unholy with various non-Jews—including Canaanites, Sodomites, and, especially, Egyptians—all of biblical times. The hostility to Egyptians which characterizes this work may also possibly reflect contemporary circumstances in Alexandria.

From the very beginning of the book, the righteous are associated with knowledge of God and the ungodly with separation from Him (1:1–3). Ignorance of or rebellion against God is an often-repeated complaint against the ungodly (e.g., 2:22, 3:10, 5:7). As they plan to oppress the righteous poor, the widow, and the elderly, the ungodly are said to describe the righteous man in this telling fashion:

> [H]e reproaches us for sins against the law,
> and accuses us of sins against our training.
> He professes to have knowledge of God,

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author and the narrator, unlike the Letter of Aristeas, in which one can differentiate between the presumably Jewish author and the non-Jewish narrator Aristeas. Tradition also ascribes to Solomon authorship of the biblical wisdom books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. See also Larcher 1983, 1:125–31.

[34] Some writers label these sections more formally, as the Book of Eschatology, the Book of Wisdom, and the Book of History (Collins 1997, 179–80; Grabbe 1997, 18–23). Not everyone agrees about the precise division of verses for these sections.

> and calls himself a child of the Lord.
> He became to us a reproof of our thoughts;
> the very sight of him is a burden to us,
> because his manner of life is unlike that of others,
> and his ways are strange. (2:12–15)[35]

In contrast to the ungodly, God has tested the righteous and found them "worthy of himself" (3:5). Their reward is immortality and they enjoy God's protection (3:1, 4; 5:15). While the righteous will thus be honored, a day of reckoning will come when the ungodly will be punished for disregarding the righteous and ignoring or rebelling against God (3:10, 4:20–5:8).

Few details in this first section allow us to identify the righteous and their opponents with any specific groups. Because the ungodly emphasize enjoyment of this life (2:6–9), it has been suggested that they may include Epicureans. In antiquity, however, such a "live for today" attitude was probably too common to be limited to a particular philosophical group.[36] In the passage quoted above (2:12), the complaint of the ungodly that the righteous accuse them of sins against the law and against their training suggests that the dispute could have been among Jews themselves, i.e., between those Jews who observed the ancestral laws and those who abandoned them. This interpretation, however, assumes that the law spoken of here refers to Jewish laws. If instead the reference is to general laws, then the ungodly may encompass those individuals, whether Jewish or not, who flout laws applicable to everyone. Other trespasses of the ungodly, such as deceit (1:4–5), blasphemy (1:6), lawless deeds (1:9), slander (1:11), adultery (3:16) and unlawful unions (3:16, 4:6), are fairly general and might apply to any number of people. As for the righteous, mention in verse 2:15 (quoted above) of their ways as being different and strange may refer to Jewish ancestral laws such as Sabbath observance and dietary restrictions, which distinguished practicing Jews from others. Identification of the righteous with these Jews, however, is not indisputable.

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[35] Some writers have observed parallels between these verses and biblical verses, e.g., from Isaiah and Psalms. For various interpretations of this difficult passage (2:12–15), which is considered further below, see Barclay 1996, 185–6; Collins 1997, 192–5; Winston 1979, 119–20; Larcher 1983, 1:239–51. Some of these authors also discuss verse 2:16, which includes other ambiguous references.

[36] Winston 1979, 114, 118, notes ad loc.; Collins 1997, 194.

Later in this section, pseudo-Solomon addresses kings, judges, and those who "rule over multitudes," reminding them, "Your dominion was given you from the Lord" (6:3). He warns that they will be punished because they failed to keep the law and follow God's ways (6:4–5). This address to rulers is part of the author's self-presentation as the biblical king admonishing his peers (cf. 1:1). If these peers are intended to signify contemporary leaders, however, his accusations about their ignoring the law and God's purpose are simply too general to help us link any of them with specific individuals.

In the final section of the book (10:1–19:22), Pseudo-Solomon elaborates upon the saving acts of personified wisdom, which becomes identified with God, and he presents a list of biblical figures described as either righteous or unrighteous. Although he provides no proper names for any of these figures, their obvious association with biblical history makes clear who they are. Thus, the righteous include Adam, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, whereas the unrighteous include Cain, residents of the destroyed five cities,[37] Lot's wife, Laban, and Potiphar's wife (10:1–14). Pseudo-Solomon then focuses upon "the holy people and blameless race," which "wisdom delivered from a nation of oppressors" (10:15). The "holy people (*laos hosios*)" are unquestionably the Israelites, while the "nation of oppressors (*ethnos thlibont n*)" is ancient Egypt.[38] Discussion of the ancient Egyptians predominates, but among the wicked, pseudo-Solomon also mentions the Canaanites (12:3–11), reproaching them for their "detestable practices," "sorcery and unholy rites," and "merciless slaughter of children." In addition, he later inserts a reference to the people of Sodom, recounting how they were punished for mistreating Lot's guests (19:14).

For most of this last section of the book, Pseudo-Solomon describes what happened to the righteous, showing in a series of examples how their oppressors were punished through the very means of the oppression, how the righteous benefited from these same means, and how nature cooperated in punishing the oppressors.[39] Underlying this

[37] See Gen. 10:19 and 14:2; see also Winston 1979, 215, note on Wisdom of Solomon 10:6.

[38] Reese (1970, 144–5) and Ziener (1956, 94–7) emphasize that the biblical peoples are meant to serve as types of the righteous and the ungodly. See also infra, n. 41.

[39] The Israelites, for example, were oppressed by the Egyptians' order to drown

pattern is always the power of God, who loves His entire creation and overlooks the sins of those who repent (11:21–12:2, 12:10). In a long digression on the folly of false worship (13:1–15:19), the author may offer further clues to the identity of the unrighteous. He describes, for example, different kinds of false worship: worship of natural elements (13:1–9); worship of images made from gold, silver, stone, wood, and clay (13:10–15:17); and finally, worship of animals (15:18–9). According to him, the worship of idols "is the beginning and cause and end of every evil" (14:27), which includes strange rites, murder, adultery, corruption, and more (14:23–31).

With this summary in mind, let us consider the possible relevance of this section to the author's contemporary situation. Although pseudo-Solomon never explicitly identifies the righteous and the unholy with the Israelites and the Egyptians, the strong correspondence between his account and biblical details renders such an identification unmistakable. Certain features of his account, however, suggest that the unrighteous may go beyond the biblical nations to encompass contemporary groups.[40] In the Bible, for example, while the Israelites are certainly the oppressed, their chief oppressor is not so much the Egyptian people as it is Pharaoh. Indeed, it is Pharaoh who gives orders to enslave the Israelites and kill their male babies, and it is Pharaoh who forbids the Israelites to leave his country.[41]

male Hebrew babies in the river. The river, in turn, was changed into blood to punish the Egyptians, while later the Israelites received water in the desert to quench their thirst (11:1–14). Here water is the natural element that cooperates in punishing the unrighteous. This pattern has been widely observed; for other examples and on the pattern in general, see esp. Cheon 1997. See also Winston 1979, 224–9, 292–325.

[40] According to some writers, the absence of any proper names renders the unholy ones into types of *all* righteous and wicked people (see, e.g., Reese 1970, 76, 119; Cheon 1997, 110–1). Perhaps that is true, but the specific details tying the righteous to the biblical people Israel and the unholy to their Egyptian oppressors suggest that these groups may be understood as types specifically for their descendants, as I argue below. See also Winston 1979, 45; Cheon 1997, 124–49.

[41] Egyptians certainly cooperate with Pharaoh, however. (I am following the biblical usage in referring to the Pharaoh without an article.) On his orders, for example, Egyptian taskmasters oppress the Israelite workers (e.g., Exod. 1:11, 13–4; 5:10–1, 13) and Egyptian forces join him in pursuing the Israelites after they leave (Exod. 14:5–7, 9). In addition, although Pharaoh is the main adversary, all the land of Egypt is affected by the plagues (e.g., Exod. 7:21; 8:6, 17, 24; 12:29), and the entire Egyptian host is drowned in the Red Sea (Exod. 14:27–8). See also Cheon (1997, 113), who believes that pseudo-Solomon generalizes as well in the case of Moses and Aaron to speak of the righteous as a people, rather than as these

In the Wisdom of Solomon, however, Pharaoh's wickedness is generalized to an entire people; the wicked and the unholy are always in the plural, never in the singular. One wonders, therefore, whether the author's contemporary situation may influence his focus upon "a *nation* of oppressors" (10:15).

Beginning in verse 10:20, moreover, the author addresses God in the second person, and for the rest of the book he fluctuates between speaking of God in the third person and addressing Him directly.[42] Thus in his review of history, pseudo-Solomon refers to the Israelites not only as the righteous but also as "thy people," "thy sons," or "thy holy ones."[43] Perhaps even more significant, he also speaks of the righteous in the first person as "us" (12:22, 18:8), of the righteous who suffered in the past as "our fathers" (12:6, 18:6), and of the unholy as "our enemies" (12:22, 16:8).[44] This use of pronouns suggests that for pseudo-Solomon the review of history is particularly meaningful because it foreshadows relations between the righteous and the unholy of his own day.

The sins of the unholy give a similar impression of such a foreshadowing. Although many of these sins follow the biblical narrative,[45] especially noteworthy are the author's discussions of animal worship—which he speaks of in the past and present tenses (12:24, 15:18–9)—and hatred of strangers (19:13). Egyptian animal worship is not explicitly mentioned in Exodus. During Ptolemaic and early Roman times, however—i.e., in the period contemporary with the Wisdom of Solomon—the Egyptians' practice of worshipping animals was well-known, and indeed derided, by Greek and Roman writers, including Jews.[46]

individuals. Because the Bible narrates that the entire Israelite nation was oppressed, however, this generalization has stronger biblical support than the generalization of the oppressors to all Egypt.

[42] On the technique of switching between a second and third person addressee in biblical poetry, see Kugel 1999, 195–6.

[43] See, e.g., 12:19–21; 15:14; 16:2, 10, 20, 21, 26; 18:1, 7; 19:5, 6, 22. The Greek *paides*, which appears in some of these verses, can be translated as either "children" or "servants."

[44] In 15:2, the author also establishes a connection with God, declaring "we are thine," though here he may be speaking of all humanity.

[45] The specific offenses are not always clear, but they include the killing of infants (11:7, 18:5), animal worship (12:24), denial of God (16:16), wickedness (17:11), secret sins (17:3), imprisonment (18:4), and hatred of strangers (19:13).

[46] Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984. For some other Alexandrian Jewish works that refer to animal worship, see supra, n. 25.

Hatred of strangers may also refer to the author's contemporary circumstances. Comparing the Egyptians' hostility toward foreigners with that of the Sodomites, pseudo-Solomon writes,

> Others [i.e., the Sodomites] had refused to receive strangers when they came to them,
> but these [i.e., the Egyptians] made slaves of guests who were their benefactors.
> . . . [T]he latter, after receiving them with festal celebrations,
> afflicted with terrible sufferings
> those who had already shared the same rights. (19:14–6)

Here pseudo-Solomon is most likely alluding to the biblical background of the Egyptians' originally friendly welcome of the Israelites to their country and their subsequent enslavement of these guests. Reference to "the same rights (*ta auta dikaia*)," however, is intriguing. While this too may be an allusion to biblical times, the issue of equal rights was certainly topical for Alexandrian Jews in the early Roman period, especially around the time of the anti-Jewish uprising in 38 CE.[47] Attempts to identify other contemporary allusions beyond these references to animal-worship and hatred of strangers have yielded no more than inconclusive results.[48]

Despite the various differences between the first and last sections of the book, a significant continuity is the notion that God, who is God of all creation, protects His holy ones.[49] Indeed, the book ends with this very theme, as follows:

> For in everything, O Lord, thou hast exalted and glorified thy people; and thou hast not neglected to help them at all times and in all places. (19:22)

As Peter Enns points out, this is "a summary statement of the book as a whole: God never neglects his people."[50]

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[47] In Gen. 45:16–20, Pharaoh tells Joseph to invite his family to come to Egypt from Canaan and offers to give them the best of the whole land of Egypt (see also Gen. 47:6). The reference to benefactors may be an allusion to Joseph's leadership in Egypt (see Winston 1979, 329, note on 19:14). As for the possibly contemporary significance to pseudo-Solomon of equal rights, in *Flacc.* 53–4, Philo complains that Flaccus, the Roman governor of Egypt, had deprived Jews of their civic rights. See also Philo, *Mos.* 1.34–5. On this Wisdom of Solomon passage in general, see Winston 1979, 327–9; Larcher 1985, 3:1074–80.

[48] See, e.g., Winston 1979, 269–80; Cheon 1997, 126–9; Collins 1997, 210–1.

[49] On this and other continuities, see Enns 1997, 145–7, 155–68; Reese 1970, 122–45.

[50] Enns 1997, 146.

Given this message and our other observations, what might we say in general about the author's perceptions of Jews and non-Jews and about the possible relevance of these perceptions to the author's contemporary situation in Alexandria? We have noted that in one passage (2:12–15) the unholy, who may be linked with apostate Jews, have the explicit intention to oppress the righteous man. Perhaps the only incident of outright violence against Jews that we know of by an apostate is the suppression of an Alexandrian Jewish revolt in 66 CE by the Roman official Tiberius Julius Alexander, who was born a Jew but abandoned his ancestral heritage.[51] On the basis of so little information, however, we cannot pinpoint any specific circumstances.

In the last section, as we have seen, pseudo-Solomon provides several hints that the wicked and unholy may represent his non-Jewish Egyptian contemporaries.[52] It is also significant that the author chose the Exodus story to illuminate God's saving actions, since many anti-Jewish writers in Alexandria focused upon this same story, altering the details to suit their own needs.[53]

The period that suggests itself as a possible backdrop to the Wisdom of Solomon is that of the Alexandrian civil unrest in 38 CE.[54] Ultimately, however, we cannot know for certain when the work was written. Whatever its setting, the author clearly intended it to be a message of encouragement and hope to faithful Jews that the Lord always comes to the aid of His people and brings justice to their

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[51] Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.100; *War* 2.487–98. See also Collins 1997, 194–5. (It is interesting that Tiberius Julius Alexander was Philo's nephew.) 3 Maccabees—which may come from early Roman times, though its precise date of composition is unknown—expresses hostility of Jews toward apostates but not the reverse. Philo too alludes to people who might reject their ancestral heritage, but he engages in moral chastisement rather than expressing outright hostility (e.g., *Spec.* 1.155, 3.155, 4.182; *Virt.* 197). Nor does he suggest that they might be violent toward Jews. For other examples of Jews who may have left the community, see Barclay 1996, 103–12.

[52] These Egyptian contemporaries may also include Alexandrians—i.e., residents or citizens of Alexandria—who are often referred to by ancient and modern writers as Greeks. On the difficulty of distinguishing between the different groups among the opponents of the Jews in first-century Alexandria, see Birnbaum 2001.

[53] These authors include Manetho, Lysimachus, Chaeremon, and Apion, all preserved by Josephus in *Against Apion*. See also supra, n. 7 and infra, n. 79.

[54] So Winston (1979) contends, and Cheon (1997) develops further arguments to support this position.

enemies. Here the enemies—the unholy—may include apostate Jews and certainly include non-Jews.[55]

Unlike the Letter of Aristeas, the wise and virtuous in the Wisdom of Solomon are not a small subset of Jews and non-Jews; instead they are identified entirely with loyal Jews and their ancestors. Again, unlike the Letter, pseudo-Solomon offers little evidence that he believes that any non-Jews recognize the ways of God, despite the emphasis of the work upon God as Lord of *all* creation. Finally, most important, unlike the Letter of Aristeas, which reflects peaceful and respectful relations between Jews and non-Jews, the Wisdom of Solomon expresses great hostility between these groups. Indeed, pseudo-Solomon's portrait of animosity between the two classes—the unholy and the righteous—leaves little room for shades of gray.[56]

Philo

In contrast to the previous two sources we have considered, the works of Philo are certainly Alexandrian and can be dated to the early or mid-first century CE. From Philo's own works, from a passing remark in Josephus (*Ant.* 18.259), and from various references in the Church Fathers,[57] we know that Philo was a prominent figure in the Alexandrian Jewish community. In addition, he participated in a delegation of Jews who appeared before the emperor Caligula in 39 or 40 CE to plead for the Jewish cause following the riots.

Besides his biblical commentaries, Philo's extant works also include a handful of treatises on philosophical topics, an explicitly apologetic work about the Jews, a description of a Jewish sect called the Therapeutae, and–especially important for our purposes—two treatises on contemporary events affecting Jews in Alexandria and the Roman empire. The first of these latter two treatises, *In Flaccum*, is specifically about the anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria and about the

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[55] For other perspectives on the tensions within this work, see Barclay 1996, 181–91; J. Collins 2000, 195–202.

[56] The division of humanity into two such classes is typical of wisdom literature. See, e.g., Kugel 1999, 119, 171; Enns 1997, 155.

[57] For a thoroughgoing treatment of references to Philo in the early Church Fathers, see Runia 1993.

punishment of Flaccus, the local Roman prefect. The second treatise, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, is Philo's account of his embassy to Gaius, as well as of prior events in Alexandria and elsewhere.[58]

Without question Philo believes that there is a class of wise and virtuous people, whom he describes in various ways. Some of these people cannot be associated with any particular ethnic group; others, however, are clearly either Jews or non-Jews. For the former group, i.e., the generic wise and virtuous, Philo has a wide-ranging vocabulary that encompasses, among other terms, the citizen of the world (*kosmopolit s*), the sage (*sophos*), the good man (*agathos, asteios, spoudaios*), and the perfect man (*teleios*).[59] As for the wise and virtuous among non-Jews, we shall see that Philo mentions by name specific Greek philosophers and writers and some non-Greek figures as well.

Among Jews, the wise and virtuous include the ancestral patriarchs of the Bible—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and, especially, Moses. Philo also describes two contemporary Jewish groups—the Therapeutae and the Essenes—with much admiration. At times, however, he goes beyond individuals and groups to portray the entire Jewish nation as wise and virtuous.[60]

Philo speaks about the wise and virtuous throughout his works, whether in the biblical commentaries or the philosophical and historical-political treatises. Although his various treatises may have been intended for different audiences, with few exceptions it does not appear that he tailored his discussions of the wise and virtuous to suit specific readers.[61]

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[58] Translations of Philo in this paper are from Colson et al. 1929–62; I have relied on their Greek text and on the critical edition of Philo's works by Cohn et al. 1962–63.

[59] On these and other terms, see Dey 1975, 46–81; Mendelson 1982, 47–65; Völker 1938, esp. 318–50; Birnbaum (forthcoming).

[60] Philo often speaks of the patriarchs as symbolic figures and moral exemplars, but he also treats them as historical personages (see, e.g., *Mos.* 1.5, 7; *Virt.* 212). Although he describes "Israel" as wise and virtuous too, I have not included Israel in this discussion. Philo's use of "Israel"—the biblical name of the ancestors of the Jews—is particularly ambiguous because he understands it to mean "[the] one that sees God." Theoretically anyone—whether Jewish or not—is potentially able to see God. It is therefore often unclear whether Philo means "Israel" to refer to Jews only or whether he means the term to encompass all those—regardless of their lineage or ethnicity—who are capable of seeing God. For a detailed consideration of the problem, see Birnbaum 1996.

[61] Philo's discussion in *De Vita Contemplativa* may be an exception. See infra, n. 73.

Like the Letter of Aristeas, Philo's thought is characterized by at least two tendencies. According to one, he appears to regard all wise and virtuous people as equal—whether Jews or non-Jews. According to the other tendency, he sees Jews as superior to others, a tendency that he expresses in different ways. Occasionally, for example, he portrays specific wise and virtuous Jews as superior to specific wise and virtuous non-Jews, or to non-Jews in general. Similarly, at times he views the entire Jewish nation as superior to all other nations. Let us look more closely at these seemingly divergent positions.

Of Philo's various generic terms for the wise and virtuous, the *kosmopolit s*, or citizen of the world, has a certain philosophical history. The Greek word *kosmopolit s* appears more frequently in Philo's works than in those of than any other writer in antiquity.[62] Although it is difficult to trace precisely the development of the cosmopolitan ideal, by his day some thinkers had come to view the world as a single city composed of wise and virtuous citizens, who were ruled by the law of nature, or what was called nature's "right reason."[63] This philosophical notion of a select class of wise and virtuous people without regard to ethnic identity clearly influenced Philo and may have stood in tension with his image of the Jews as a people distinguished by their religious beliefs and worship. Undoubtedly this notion contributed to his ambiguous stance on the relationship between the generic and the Jewish wise and virtuous.

In the following passage, Philo expresses openness to the wise and virtuous of all peoples:

> All who practice wisdom either in Grecian or barbarian lands . . . [strive for] a life of peace, free from warring. They are the closest observers of nature and all that it contains. . . . While their bodies are firmly planted on the land they provide their souls with wings, so that they may traverse the upper air and gain full contemplation of the powers which dwell there, as behoves true 'cosmopolitans' who have recognized the world to be a city, having for its citizens the associates of wisdom, registered as such by virtue to whom is entrusted the headship of the universal commonwealth. (*Spec.* 2.44–5)

For a consideration of Philo's different audiences and aims, see Birnbaum 1996, 17–21 and references cited there.

[62] Runia 2001, 103; Birnbaum (forthcoming).

[63] For background on the notion of the cosmopolitan, see Schofield 1999; Baldry 1965; and Mazzolani 1970. Gradually, the idea of the cosmopolis evolved to embrace all people, not just the wise and virtuous.

In other passages, Philo also describes citizens of the world in various general—i.e., non-ethnic—ways, referring to them, for example, as the wise man (*Migr.* 59), the good man (*Mos.* 1.157), the true statesman (*Ios.* 67, 69), and all God-beloved souls (*Somn.* 1.243).[64]

Besides his references to cosmopolitans, Philo's other discussions of the generic wise and virtuous preclude any determination of their ethnicity or cultural background. On the basis of his many interpretations and statements about these exemplary figures, one can put together a composite profile. Such an individual values the noetic world above the sense-perceptible one, eschews pleasure and passion, and strives to be virtuous. Central to the life of such a person are the recognition and honor of God.[65] In many passages, the wise and virtuous are defined only by these qualities, which they have in common, rather than by membership in any particular ethnic or cultural group. Indeed in several places, Philo emphasizes that the essential components of kinship are the shared commitment to virtue and pursuit of the same goal—namely, honor of God. Moreover, *eugeneia*, or nobility, is defined by an individual's virtue rather than by his or her parentage.[66]

In the absence of any clear ethnic or cultural identifications, then, we are left to conclude that Philo sees all wise and virtuous people—whether Jewish or not—as equals. Support for this conclusion can be found in several places in which Philo does indeed discuss specific non-Jewish sages. He has high praise, for example, for the Pythagoreans, whom he calls a "saintly company (*hier tatos thiasos*)" (*Prob.* 2). In *Prob.* 72–4, he speaks of wise, just, and virtuous people of Greek and non-Greek lands, naming specifically a group of Greek sages known as the Seven, the Magi of Persia, and the Gymnosophists of India. Describing the latter two groups as "men of the highest excellence (*kaloi kai agathoi andres*)," (*Prob.* 74), he notes that the Magi "silently make research into the facts of nature to gain knowledge of the truth and through visions clearer than speech, give and receive

[64] Philo also describes specific people as cosmopolitans: the forefather of the human race (i.e., Adam; *Opif.* 142), Moses (*Conf.* 106, cf. *Mos.* 1.155–7), and the sect of the Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 90). Philo would consider as Jews Moses and the Therapeutae but not Adam.

[65] See, e.g., Winston 1984, 1995; Wolfson 1982, 2:165–321; Dey 1975, 48–81; Völker 1938.

[66] E.g., *Mos.* 2.171; *Spec.* 1.317, 2.73; *Virt.* 195 (see, in general, *Virt.* 187–227).

the revelations of divine excellency." The Gymnosophists "study ethical as well as physical philosophy and make the whole of their lives an exhibition of virtue" (*Prob.* 74). Although Philo distinguishes here and elsewhere between Greeks and non-Greeks, he appears to use "Greek" with a variety of meanings—inhabitants of Greece, Greek-speakers, or generally those immersed in Greek culture. The term therefore does not necessarily denote a particular ethnic entity but can refer to people with a similar cultural background.[67]

Besides these non-Jewish groups, Philo also speaks admiringly of such individuals as Zeno (*Prob.* 53, 108), Plato (*Prob.* 13, *Aet.* 16, 52), Aristotle (*Aet.* 16), Anaxarchus (*Prob.* 109), and the Indian Gymnosophist Calanus (*Prob.* 93–6). Moreover, he goes beyond thinkers and philosophers. In a rather extended passage in *Legat.* (143–51), for example, he praises the Roman emperor Augustus, describing him as one "who in all the virtues transcended human nature, who on account of the vastness of his imperial sovereignty as well as nobility of character (*kalokagathia*) was the first to bear the name of the August or Venerable. . . ."[68]

Finally, it is worth noting that in his various discussions of the wise and virtuous among non-Jews, Philo nowhere alludes to his Alexandrian contemporaries. Because his thought shows important commonalities with such non-Jewish Alexandrian philosophical predecessors as Antiochus of Ascalon, Eudorus of Alexandria, and Arius Didymus, we might expect him to have been familiar with contemporaries of the same sort, especially when we recall that Alexandria was home to the scholarly institutions of the Library and the Museum. We also know that Philo attended theatrical presentations and athletic contests, which would naturally have brought Jews and non-Jews together, and he may have been educated in the gymnasium. If he admired any non-Jews whom he met in the city's various settings, however, he does not mention them. Instead when Philo envisions an elite class of the wise and virtuous among non-Jews, he clearly has in mind only figures from the past or from other lands.[69]

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[67] See, e.g., Birnbaum 2001; also supra, n. 13.

[68] *Legat.* 143. Other Romans whom Philo praises include Tiberius (*Legat.* 141–2), Petronius (*Legat.* 213, 245), and Julia (*Legat.* 319–20). See also Niehoff 2001, 111–33.

[69] In *Flacc.* 141, Philo speaks of "the most highly respectable part of the public (*to kathar taton tou d mou*)," but it is unclear to whom he is referring (see Birnbaum 2001, 52). On Philo's philosophical predecessors in Alexandria, see Tobin 1983,

In the references mentioned earlier, because Philo makes no comparisons between non-Jewish sages and Jews, we cannot know for sure how he might evaluate the two groups in relation to each other. His positive descriptions of the non-Jewish figures suggest that he considers them to be equal to the wise and virtuous among Jews, whether individual Jews or the entire nation. In one remarkable passage, Philo indeed asserts this view explicitly. He first notes that the Jewish nation declares itself to be a suppliant of God, that is, "of Him who truly exists and is the Maker and Father of all" (*Virt.* 64). Philo then writes that philosophers—who presumably include non-Jews—arrive at the same knowledge of God that Jews acquire from their ancestral practices. As he observes,

> [W]hat the disciples of the most excellent philosophy gain from its teaching, the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is to know the highest, the most ancient Cause of all things and reject the delusion of created gods. (*Virt.* 65)

In acknowledging that both philosophers and Jews reach the same awareness of the universal God, Philo appears to accord equal regard to both groups. So far, the evidence we have been considering certainly supports such a view.[70] While this position is unmistakable, however, it is only part of the picture; for side by side with these expressions of admiration, Philo also declares that specific Jewish figures are superior to specific non-Jewish figures and indeed that the Jews as a people are superior to all other peoples.

One way in which he presents this latter opinion is to assert that Moses originated a certain idea or cultural institution prior to such figures as Heracleitus and Zeno, a claim that implies that Moses' wisdom was original, whereas the wisdom of these other thinkers

10–19; Dillon 1996, 52–139; Fraser 1998, 1:485–94. For background on the Library and the Museum, see El-Abbadi 1992; Fraser 1998, 1:305–35; Parsons 1952. Passages on Philo's attendance at theatrical and sports events are cited by Borgen 1992, 129; and Mendelson 1974–75, 12. A remark in *Prov.* 2.44 shows Philo's familiarity with the gymnasium, but the conclusion that he received his education there is far from certain; see also Tcherikover 1957, 38–9; Mendelson 1982, 28–33. Regarding anti-Jewish intellectuals in Alexandria, whom Philo does not mention, see infra, n. 79. According to one modern scholar, "[N]o love was lost between the Museum and the Synagogue" (Jones 1926, 21).

[70] Philo's discussion of Israel allows a similar interpretation, namely, that both Jews and non-Jews can potentially "see" God; see supra n. 60.

was derivative. Indeed at times, Philo makes the explicit claim that later thinkers borrowed from Moses directly.[71] Another way he sets forth this position is by portraying the Jews or representatives of the Jews as in some way wiser or more virtuous than other people. Thus he depicts Abraham—whom he elsewhere describes as "the most ancient member of the Jewish nation" (*Virt.* 212)—as wiser than Socrates. This is because Abraham acquired knowledge of God, whereas Socrates' knowledge—as demonstrated by his motto "know thyself"—extended only to himself.[72]

In his treatise *De Vita Contemplativa*, Philo frequently compares the Jewish sect of Therapeutae with other figures, especially Greek philosophers, to highlight the superior virtue of the Jewish group. He notes, for example, that the Therapeutae, who give their wealth away to others before joining the sect, are more admirable than the thinkers Anaxagoras and Democritus, admired by the Greeks, who abandoned their property thoughtlessly in their pursuit of philosophy (*Contempl.* 14). In addition, the sober gatherings of the Jewish sect put to shame the philosophical symposia described by Xenophon and Plato. These latter symposia are marked by pleasure because they offer either facile entertainment or conversation about vulgar, homosexual love (*Contempl.* 57).[73]

Beyond comparing wise and virtuous Jews—whether as individuals or collectivities—with wise and virtuous non-Jews, Philo applies his observations to even broader segments of non-Jewish culture and society. He declares, for example, that the ascetic celebrations of the Therapeutae far surpass the drunken festivities accompanying Greek athletic events and the excessive banquets of both Greeks and

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[71] For statements—either direct or indirect—that portray Moses as the source of Greek wisdom, see *Leg.* 1.108; *Her.* 214; *Spec.* 4.61; *Prob.* 57; *Aet.* 17–9; *Q.G.* 3.5, 16; *Q.G.* 4.152, 167; see also Winston 1995, 824; Sterling 1993, 101; Birnbaum 2001, 45–6; Niehoff 2001, 137–58. It was fairly commonplace in antiquity to assert that one's own ancestors were the source of cultural innovations; see, e.g., Pilhofer 1990.

[72] *Somn.* 1.57–60. In this passage, Philo also includes Terah, Abraham's father, as part of the comparison. Terah represents the quality of self-knowledge and thus he too surpasses Socrates, who stands for knowledge specifically of his own self. Although Terah is a biblical figure, however, he is not a Jew; instead, his son Abraham is the father of the Jewish nation (*Virt.* 212).

[73] Because Philo is especially critical of Greeks and others in *Contempl.*, he may have written this treatise with a special purpose in mind—perhaps to influence Jews drawn to non-Jewish culture to maintain their ties to Judaism (Hay 2003).

non-Greeks (*Contempl.* 48–63) He observes, moreover, that the practical philosophy of another Jewish sect, the Essenes, is "free from the pedantry of Greek wordiness" (*Prob.* 88). In addition, he notes that the biblical patriarch Abraham stood ready to sacrifice his only son out of obedience to God, a far more admirable motive than the base reasons impelling Greeks and non-Greeks to sacrifice their children (*Abr.* 178–99). Abraham's faith in God, moreover, signifies a far higher value than the appreciation of works of art cherished by both Greeks and non-Greeks (*Abr.* 262–7).

Carrying this tendency even further, Philo claims that the entire Jewish nation excels all others. In his opinion, the virtue and value of the Jews inhere in their restraint and self-control and in their recognition and worship of God.[74] Thus, in contrast to feasts celebrated by Greeks and non-Greeks, feasts whose only purpose is vanity and whose observance is characterized by a complete lack of restraint, Philo extols the virtue and holiness of feasts that belong to God—implicitly, those observed by the Jews (*Cher.* 84–97, esp. 91; see also *Spec.* 1.192–3). In another passage, Philo describes the Jewish nation as an orphan, having no sympathizers who might come to their assistance. As he explains, this isolation is because of their

> exceptional laws which are necessarily grave and severe, because they inculcate the highest standard of virtue. But gravity is austere, and austerity is held in aversion by the great mass of men because they favour pleasure. (*Spec.* 4.179)

While no nation will come to their assistance, the Jews have an ultimate protector in God, the Ruler of the Universe. By worshipping Him, Philo declares, the Jews correct the error of all these other nations that acknowledge this God but fail to honor Him (*Spec.* 2.165–7).

Philo's pride in the Jews' recognition and worship of God is especially pronounced in *Legat.*, in which he tells how Caligula had declared himself divine and had insisted upon being honored as such. In defiance of the emperor's orders, only the Jews held their ground,

> trained as they were . . . from the cradle, by parents and tutors and instructors and by the far higher authority of the sacred laws and also the unwritten customs, to acknowledge one God who is the Father

[74] See, e.g., Mendelson 1988, 128–38; Niehoff 2001, 75–110; Birnbaum 2001.

> and Maker of the world. For all others, men, women, cities, nations, countries, regions of the earth, I might almost say the whole inhabited world, groaning though they were at what was happening, flattered him all the same and magnified him out of all proportion and augmented his vanity. (*Legat.* 115–6)

Despite such sweeping statements as this in which Philo praises the entire Jewish nation, there are also indications that he made distinctions among the Jews themselves. In several places, for example, Philo speaks disparagingly of biblical exegetes who adhere to a literal rather than an allegorical interpretation of Scripture.[75] These individuals, engaged in such close study of the Bible, must certainly have been Jews. Moreover, in comments that call to mind his abovementioned observations about kinship, Philo occasionally warns Jews not to rely on their noble lineage alone but to maintain the exemplary behavior that characterized their forbears.[76] In addition, with his belief that shared values and behavior were more important than common ancestry, Philo frequently expresses an open and friendly attitude toward non-Jews who adopt Jewish beliefs and practices and join the Jewish community.[77]

Philo's thought, then, is characterized by several inconsistencies and qualifications. On one hand, he posits the ideal sage, a man of wisdom and virtue, a citizen of the universe. Philo is not, however, so cosmopolitan in outlook that he makes no distinctions between Jew and non-Jew. At times he speaks very admiringly about specific wise and virtuous people among non-Jews, and it would seem that he considers them to be as wise and as virtuous as their Jewish counterparts. On the other hand, Philo sometimes praises Jews above all other people—wise and virtuous—as well as whole nations. At the same time, one finds other statements suggesting that not all Jews lived up to his ideal image of his people.

Accounting for these inconsistencies and qualifications is not a

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[75] Shroyer 1936; Wolfson 1982, 1:57–66.

[76] E.g., *Spec.* 4.182; *Virt.* 197, 226.

[77] We do not know how Philo may have viewed non-Jewish philosophers in relation to proselytes, nor can we determine how many non-Jews in Alexandria actually became proselytes. For an extensive discussion on Philo's attitude toward proselytes, see Birnbaum 1996, 193–219. For a broader consideration of proselytes in antiquity, see Cohen 1999, 140–74; McGing 2002. Feldman (1993), McKnight (1991), and Goodman (1994) are especially interested in the question of whether or not Jews actively engaged in proselytism.

simple matter. By looking for solutions in Philo's thought alone, some scholars may hypothesize that he may have believed that there were many paths to virtue and the divine, but the Jewish path was the best. Consideration of the Alexandrian social context, however, suggests a different explanation: Perhaps on a theoretical level, Philo recognized and valued non-Jewish paths, but practical circumstances in contemporary Alexandria, where Jews were being cruelly oppressed, may have led him to defend his co-religionists and praise them above everyone else.

As we have noted, Philo's discussions of the wise and virtuous among non-Jews never extend to his Alexandrian contemporaries. In *Flacc.* and *Legat.* especially, when he does speak of these contemporaries, his disdain for them—whether leaders of the city or part of the mob—is undisguised. Under the press of current events, Philo drew a sharp distinction between Jews and all others. In fact at one point in his account of the Alexandrian riots, he describes the population of Egypt as consisting of "two kinds of inhabitants, us and them" (*Flacc.* 43).

As for the leaders of the city, Philo describes them by name as "a popularity-hunting Dionysius, a paper-poring Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver, and . . . state embroiler" (*Flacc.* 20). Collectively, he sees them as "sedition-makers and enemies of the commonwealth" (*Flacc.* 24). When Philo speaks in general of the opponents of the Jews in Alexandria, he refers to them in vague terms as "the mob," "the crowd," or "our enemies," barely distinguishing the city leaders from this undifferentiated throng. He also blurs distinctions between Alexandrians and Egyptians, associating both groups with what he considered the reprehensible practice of animal worship and characterizing the whole lot of them as envious, easily excitable, and seditious (*Flacc.* 17, 29).[78] It is both sur-

[78] In *Flacc.* 62, Philo describes the opponents of the Jews as "our friends of yesterday (*hoi pro mikrou philoi*)." Although it is possible that he had earlier considered them friends, however, he most likely means this comment to be ironic. In general Philo views Egyptians quite negatively, and his attitude toward them is a topic in itself. In addition to the descriptions noted above in the text, he associates Egyptians, especially in his symbolic interpretations of biblical Egypt, with the body, senses, and love of pleasure—values he clearly regards as inferior to those related to the mind. See Pearce 1998, 88–97; Borgen 1992, 127–8; Niehoff 2001, 45–74; see also supra, n. 52.

prising and puzzling that he never mentions members of Alexandria's learned classes such as Apion and Chaeremon, who were known for their anti-Jewish opposition.[79]

Philo's reports of interactions between Jews and non-Jews, then—especially in *Flacc.* and *Legat.*—are overwhelmingly negative. A notable exception, however, can be found in *Mos.* 2.41–3, in which he describes an annual celebration of the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, attended by "not only Jews but multitudes of others (*pampl theis heteroi*)." This account of a yearly outing, irenic and joyous, on the island of Pharos to honor the translation of the Jewish Bible strongly contrasts with Philo's other depictions of relations between Jews and non-Jews. Some kind of celebration must surely have taken place, since Philo's contemporary readers would presumably have known something of it and been able to evaluate his description. Nonetheless one wonders who these "multitudes of others" were. Unfortunately, Philo provides no elaboration.

Philo's admiration for the wise and virtuous among non-Jews, then, appears to embrace ideal figures—those who lived in the past and in faraway lands—but not anyone in his contemporary Alexandria. This observation is consistent with his general preference for the ideal, the noetic, and the contemplative over the real, the sense-perceptible, and the practical. Philo himself, however, did not live in the world of the mind alone. Instead he was a central figure who represented his Jewish compatriots before the emperor. Perhaps in the ideal, theoretical realm, Philo could recognize and accept the existence of a wise and virtuous elite undifferentiated by ethnic or cultural background. The real world of Alexandria and the Roman Empire, however, led him to present the Jews as surpassing non-Jewish individuals and nations alike.

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[79] Apion, a Homeric scholar and history writer, participated in the Alexandrian delegation to Caligula that opposed Philo's embassy (Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.257). It was against him that Josephus directed his work *Against Apion*. Chaeremon, another of Josephus' targets in this work, was a Stoic philosopher and Egyptian priest who may also have served as head librarian during the first century CE. The name of Chaeremon appears as one of the addressees in the Letter of Claudius, an invaluable papyrus document in which the emperor Claudius discusses Jews and non-Jews in Alexandria. See Bell 1924, 1–37, esp. 29, note on line 17; Tcherikover and Fuks 1960, 2:36–55; van der Horst 1984. Sterling (1990) suggests that Philo's apologetic treatise on the Jews, known as the *Hypothetica*, may have been a response to anti-Jewish critics like Lysimachus, Apion, and Chaeremon. See also Borgen 1992, 125–9.

Further Observations and Conclusions

Now that we have observed the range of perceptions about the wise and virtuous in the Letter of Aristeas, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the writings of Philo, let us compare and contrast how these sources view different ethnic or cultural groups, social interaction between Jews and non-Jews, and essential differences between these two groups. Although all three sources remark on specific ethnic or cultural groups to some extent, the most important distinction for all of them is the more general one between Jews and non-Jews. In the Letter of Aristeas, for example, Eleazar remarks that those who create myths are considered the wisest of the Greeks and that Egyptians are animal-worshippers. He also notes that the Egyptian priests recognize the Jews as "men of God." Most significant, however, all the non-Jews—regardless of their ethnic or cultural background—are portrayed as admiring the Jewish translators, and Eleazar's explanations of the Mosaic laws emphasize the separation between Jews and all non-believers in God—again, whatever their background.

Similarly, the Wisdom of Solomon alludes—though not by name—to a number of different ethnic groups such as the Egyptians, Canaanites, and Sodomites. Because the primary adversaries of the righteous are the biblical Egyptians and because some passages about them may refer indirectly to the author's contemporary circumstances, it is tempting to imagine that pseudo-Solomon intends the biblical Egyptians to symbolize the Egyptians of his own day. The ethnic and cultural background of these adversaries, however, is overshadowed by their ungodliness. More important than any ethnic or cultural distinctions among non-Jews, then, is the distinction between the righteous and the ungodly, those faithful to God—presumably Jews—and those who deny Him—all others, including perhaps some Jewish apostates.

Philo too makes several remarks about Greeks and Egyptians. For him, however, the "Greeks" seem to denote not any contemporary Alexandrian communities, but rather inhabitants of Greece, Greek-speakers, or those immersed in Greek culture. Although Philo is a great admirer of Greek culture, in several passages he compares Greeks unfavorably to Jews. He is more critical of the Egyptians on account of their animal worship, seditiousness, and envy. The designation "Egyptians," however, is fairly vague; when Philo speaks of Egyptians, especially in *Flacc.* and *Legat.*, one cannot easily distin-

guish between them and the Alexandrians. Regardless, though, of his various observations about these specific groups, for Philo too the general distinction between Jews and non-Jews, between "us and them," appears to be the most important. Indeed this "us and them" attitude characterizes all three sources under discussion.

Despite this polarized stance, the three sources nevertheless exhibit a range of positions on the desirability of social interactions between Jews and non-Jews. The Letter of Aristeas appears most open to such interactions, portraying quite friendly exchanges between the king and his philosophers and courtiers, on one hand, and Eleazar and the Jewish translators, on the other. Although these exchanges depict the Jews as surpassing others in wisdom and virtue, the interactions themselves appear to be highly valued. In contrast, the Wisdom of Solomon views interactions between the righteous and the ungodly as exclusively hostile. Pseudo-Solomon clearly believes that those loyal to God should stay far away from those who deny Him.

Although Philo envisions a class of wise and virtuous people that encompasses both Jews and non-Jews, it is difficult to discern what his attitude is about direct exchanges between Jews and non-Jews, particularly in Alexandria. Philo refers several times to having been present at various theatrical and athletic events, where one assumes he came into contact with many non-Jews. His explicit accounts of interactions between Alexandrian Jews and non-Jews, however, are chiefly negative.

If the three sources we have studied vary somewhat in their positions on interacting with non-Jews, they share a general agreement about the differences between Jews and non-Jews. Viewed from the perspective of their most open stance, Aristeas and Philo both acknowledge that non-Jews can recognize God and can display an admirable degree of wisdom and virtue. From another perspective, however, both authors share with pseudo-Solomon the notion that only the Jews believe in and worship the one true God, in contrast to other people who believe in many gods and who practice various kinds of false worship. In addition, Jews' obedience to God's laws sets them apart even more from non-Jews, whose behavior includes objectionable sexual practices and other disdained activities.

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While the selected literary works under discussion cannot provide a comprehensive picture of how Jews perceived themselves and others

in ancient Alexandria, they offer significant snapshots of different positions. The differences in these positions may well have been affected by the social and political circumstances under which these various works were written. The fairly peaceful and favorable conditions that Jews experienced under the Ptolemies, for example, may have influenced the author of the Letter of Aristeas to welcome interactions between Jews and non-Jews and, in fact, to wish for non-Jews' approval and admiration. By contrast, the hostility displayed in the Wisdom of Solomon suggests that this work was composed under quite different circumstances, perhaps those of Philo's time. Although Philo himself demonstrates high esteem for wise and virtuous non-Jews, he too expresses animosity toward his non-Jewish Alexandrian contemporaries.

The one constant theme running through all these works is a commitment to the one true God and to His laws. For the authors of these works, it is this commitment that renders Jews wiser and more virtuous than non-Jews. Whether this commitment characterized all or most Jews in ancient Alexandria we cannot say on the basis of this study. Nor can we say whether all those who shared this commitment considered themselves wiser and more virtuous than non-Jews. To be sure, our study raises these and several other unanswered questions. Were any non-Jews in Alexandria attracted to the Jewish way of believing in and worshipping God? If so, what was their background, and how many were there? Did a Jewish attitude of superiority contribute to the hostility that erupted in violence in the first century CE, and if so, how did it contribute? The meager evidence we have from and about Alexandrian non-Jews certainly suggests that other—non-religious—factors were also significant, including social and political ones.

Without a doubt, then, relations between Jews and non-Jews in ancient Alexandria were complex and multi-faceted. To understand the situation fully would require evidence from all components of society—Jews and non-Jews, lower classes and elite. Nonetheless the writings we have examined offer some rare extant samples of relevant evidence. While they cannot totally illuminate four centuries of Jewish existence among Greeks, Egyptians, and others, these works provide important glimpses of how some Jews perceived themselves and their neighbors in the ancient Alexandrian cosmopolis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ALEXANDRIA AND MIDDLE EGYPT: SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTACTS UNDER ROMAN RULE

Mohammed Abd-el-Ghani

Alexandria, the capital of Egypt for about a millennium under Greek and Roman rule, had a lot of attractions under the early Ptolemies, enough to turn any man's head and heart, to quote El-Abbadi.[1] Under Ptolemy II Philadelphus the poet Herondas in one of his mimes tells that in Egypt everything imaginable can be found: 'wealth, the palaestra, power, tranquillity, glory, shows, philosophers, gold, young men, the temple of the Sibling Gods, the generous king, the Mouseion, wine, all the good things you may desire, and women more numerous than the stars in the sky who would compete in beauty with the goddesses who sought the judgment of Paris.'[2] Such attractions would lead a young Greek man to leave his homeland quite willingly and forget his beloved lady there, according to the mime. As Alexandria, the marvelous capital, was the embodiment of all these temptations for foreigners, the same would apply to many of the Egyptian country-folk who would be lured from their home villages in the '*chora*' to the magnificent capital and prolong their stay there as much as they could. In spite of the antipathy and hostile sentiments felt and sometimes expressed by the Egyptian elite or enlightened class towards Alexandria as the symbol of foreign hegemony in Egypt,[3] daily-life necessities led a considerable number of Egyptians to seek their various requirements in Alexandria in a very pragmatic way.

As a matter of fact, the documentary evidence concerning this point from the Ptolemaic period is very poor. However, this gap is

[1] El-Abbadi 1990, 44.
[2] Herondas, *Mimes* 1, ll. 26–35.
[3] Thompson 2001b, 78–79.

bridged by a few literary sources dating from the second century BC. In the literary epistle of the Pseudo-Aristeas[4] dated about 160 BC, the author alludes to the attraction which all great cities exercise and which results in the abandonment of the countryside. He takes Alexandria as an example (sections 108–111) and asserts:

> Alexandria is a good example of this case, because the country-folk who were coming to sojourn there rendered the state of agriculture a sad one as they extended their sojourn there. Whence the king [Ptolemy VI Philometor] took certain measures limiting their sojourn: in particular, he accelerated the judicial procedure and created internal [local] law-courts in the nomes to prevent the cultivators and their agents from going there to seek their fortune and not contribute in producing the supplies of the city [i.e. Alexandria].[5]

From the above-passage it is clear that the number of Egyptian country-folk who used to stay in Alexandria—at least during the turbulent second century BC—was large enough to threaten the agriculture in the χώρα and its food-supplies to Alexandria. The serious measures by the king against their action also indicate how serious the phenomenon was. We will return to this point under the Romans.

Polybius, who visited the city around 145 BC, divided the population of Alexandria into three groups only: Egyptians, mercenaries and Alexandrians. In his mention of the Egyptian element he uses the following phrase: τό τε Αἰγύπτιον καὶ ἐπιχώριον φῦλον.[6] Fraser translated the word ἐπιχώριον in this phrase as 'native,'[7] while Braunert interpreted it as 'from the chora.'[8] Braunert's translation seems to me—in spite of Fraser's objection[9]—more accurate and convincing for two reasons: (1) It is taken for granted and needs no emphasis to say that the Egyptian race is the 'native' one. On this basis one would hardly believe that Polybius meant to use that unnecessary description in his talk of the Egyptian race or element. (2) The above-mentioned passage of Pseudo-Aristeas, from about the same time, in my view strongly supports Braunert's translation. Needless to say, the majority of the country-folk who used to flock to Alexandria

[4] Tramontano 1931; Hadas 1951.
[5] I have relied here on the translation of Préaux 1983, 2.
[6] *Apud* Strabo 17.1.12; Polybius 34.14.6.
[7] Fraser 1972, vol. 1, p. 61.
[8] Braunert 1964, 78.
[9] Fraser 1972, vol. 2, p. 145, n. 184.

were, of course, Egyptians. If my understanding of the Polybian phrase concerning the Egyptian element in Alexandria is true, it follows that the Egyptian inhabitants of Ptolemaic Alexandria—especially under the weak and bickering Ptolemies—mostly belonged to the countryside.

As for the Roman period, it is much better documented on this point and others, particularly with papyrological documents from the region of Middle Egypt (and more particularly from the Oxyrhynchite, Arsinoite, Heracleopolite and Hermopolite nomes). From the available papyrological documents one can clearly discern the existence in Alexandria of a dense rural population from the villages of Middle Egypt. They lived in the capital for various reasons and motives, among which first and foremost was the work in that wealthy city. It is logical to suppose that working opportunities in Alexandria were considerable: it was the queen city of the eastern Mediterranean, the crossroads of commerce between the Greco-Roman world and eastern and southern nations, as well as the center of many industries.[10] In spite of the changing political conditions and fortunes of Alexandria under the Ptolemies and Romans it more or less retained its prestigious position and vast wealth. Julius Caesar in 48 BC expressed his admiration for the city as 'vast in size and opulent.'[11] Strabo, in the earliest phase of the Roman rule in Egypt, describes Alexandria at that time and quotes the Homeric phrase 'building upon building,' in a hint at the extensive construction projects which El-Abbadi rightly believes to have more than doubled the Egyptian population of the city.[12]

The picture of Alexandria as a city wholeheartedly dedicated to business and money is best represented in a letter attributed to the emperor Hadrian addressed to a friend of his.[13] I quote here a passage from that letter, which is quite relevant and fitting to our topic:

> The city [i.e. Alexandria] is great, splendid and luxurious. No one here lives idly. Some are blowers of glass, others are makers of writing tablets, yet others linen-weavers. Everyone is master of some trade, and attached to the service of it. There is work for those suffering

[10] Lewis 1983, 25–26; Bowman 1986, 203 ff.
[11] Appian, *Bella Civilia* 2.89.
[12] El-Abbadi 1990, *loc. cit.*
[13] Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Saturninus* 8.8. According to Syme 1971, 19, this letter 'exemplifies the mature talent of the impostor' who wrote the *HA*.

> from gout; there is work for the blind. Even those whose hands are paralyzed find something to do. Their only god is money. That is the god whom all—Christians, Jews, pagans all alike—really worship. Would that this city were endowed with better morals—it would be worthy of a city which has the primacy of all Egypt in view of its fecundity and its greatness.[14]

Now, let us have a quick glance at the documentary evidence attesting to the existence and residence of country-folk from Middle Egypt as a labor force in Alexandria. From the year 1 BC a certain Ilarion from Oxyrhynchus tells his wife in a letter that he was then at Alexandria and informs her, 'If I receive the wages soon I will send them up to you.'[15] Another Oxyrhynchite, Sarapion by name, went to Alexandria in 22 A.D. to attend the judicial session διαλογισμός of the prefect and present a petition to him.[16] Before that session was held, some of his Oxyrhynchite friends at Alexandria pressed him—as he says in his letter to his brother in Oxyrhynchus—to enter the service of the chief usher of the prefect, who would facilitate his task.[17] Those Oxyrhynchite friends must have been residing and working in the capital. He also mentions in the same letter that he knew from fishermen who were at Alexandria that his house had been searched.[18] Whether these fishermen were fishing at Alexandria or were there for some other reason is unknown.

In another document, a father from the city of Oxyrhynchus declares that his son, a weaver by profession, was sojourning at Alexandria and was in the official list of poll-tax payers for that year.[19] That young weaver must have been working in a weaving workshop in Alexandria. This hypothesis is supported by the contents of a petition sent by a group of weavers from the village of Philadelphia to the strategos of the Heracleides meris of the Arsinoite

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[14] *Ibid.* 'civitas opulenta, dives, fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. alii vitrum conflant. aliis charta conficitur, omnes certe linyphiones aut cuiuscumque artis esse videntur: et habent podagrosi quod agant, habent praecisi quod agant, habent caeci quod faciant, ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. Unus illis deus nummus est. hunc Christiani, hunc Iudaei, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes.'

I have here quoted the translation of Kraft, *Early Christian Thinkers* 9; see also Bowman 1986, 221.

[15] *P.Oxy.* 4.744. 1 BC, ll. 7–8.

[16] *P.Oxy.* 2.294. 22 AD.

[17] *Ibid.*, ll. 16–19.

[18] *Ibid.*, ll. 5–7.

[19] *P.Oxy.* 1.36, ll. 11–14.

nome.[20] They complain that four of their colleagues (out of a total of twelve in the workshop) were carried off or dragged ἀπεσπάσθησαν (l. 17)—against their will it seems—to Alexandria;[21] in what circumstances this happened is not clear, owing to the mutilation of this part of the document. The remaining eight weavers were in an awkward position, since they were required to prepare and deliver a consignment of public uniforms for which they had already received a certain sum of money from the public treasury.[22] As the time of delivery was pressing, they earnestly demanded the return of their four colleagues from Alexandria.[23]

Although this document does not tell us precisely how these weavers were carried off to Alexandria from the Arsinoite nome, we can deduce the process by analogy from other evidence. In a letter from a certain Publius—who probably held an office related to irrigation, ξυλομέτρης, in Alexandria—to a friend of his called Apollonius, Publius refers to a certain Macrinus, who had been asked to find men from the countryside and bring them to Alexandria.[24] Publius goes on to say that Macrinus did not readily carry out the task demanded from him. Macrinus had fallen ill, and he promised Publius: 'If I recover I will at once go to Alexandria to you with the men from Pakerke (in the Oxyrhynchite).'[25] It seems clear that Publius was in bad need of the men, so he replied: 'If you turn the men over to me you will be rewarded.'[26] It is also clear that Macrinus responded to him favorably, since Publius tells Apollonius by the end of the letter that he was looking after the men.[27]

In this document, Macrinus clearly was a middleman from Oxyrhynchus whose job it was to bring rural laborers required by certain officials or businessmen in Alexandria in return for commissions or recompenses. In another document from the second century we encounter another middleman, Kallistos, whose sphere of work was interesting and unusual.[28] He had a reputation in Alexandria for

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[20] *BGU* 7.1572, Philadelphia, 139 AD.
[21] *Ibid.*, ll. 7–9.
[22] *Ibid.*, ll. 16–18.
[23] *Ibid.*, ll. 9–12.
[24] *P.Oxy.* 41.2981, second century AD.
[25] *Ibid.*, ll. 9–12.
[26] *Ibid.*, ll. 13–15.
[27] *Ibid.*, ll. 27–28.
[28] *P.Oxy.* 38.2860.

supplying such entertainers as acrobats.[29] An old Alexandrian lady mentioned in the letter recommended Kallistos to Heraklammon, the writer of the letter.[30] She may have been an owner of a place of entertainment in the capital who had dealt with Kallistos. Consequently Heraklammon mentions to Kallistos that 'he [Heraklammon] thought of three young acrobats as well'[31] in contrast to the 'boys' (παῖδες) previously required. Such instances suggest the existence of agents or middlemen who specialized in bringing the required labor force needed by the city from the countryside in all jobs and professions. This is in addition, of course, to voluntary individual or group migration to the capital, in which one might not be needed and might remain unemployed for some time at least.[32]

Some of the country-folk in Alexandria made the utmost use of their stay in the capital by working in the city and, at the same time, sending to their relatives in the countryside some goods available in Alexandria to be sold in the villages with what appears to have been considerable profit. There were groups of people from the Oxyrhynchite nome (whether friends, relatives, or colleagues) who used to travel regularly between Oxyrhynchus and Alexandria to convey such goods and messages from the Oxyrhynchites in Alexandria (whether Egyptians or Greeks) and their relatives at home.[33] Examples of the goods sent out from Alexandria are vinegar and some dainties to be sold in an Oxyrhynchite shop.[34]

Sometimes we find a commercial activity on a large scale linking parties in Alexandria and places in Middle Egypt like Oxyrhynchus on the one hand, and the Small Oasis and even the Great Oasis in Upper Egypt on the other.[35] Such large activities and transactions included goods like wine and skins,[36] and involved some sophisticated financial procedures like 'river and land freight' and 'letters of credit'.[37]

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[29] *Ibid.*, introduction and ll. 9–10.
[30] *Ibid.*, ll. 11–13.
[31] *Ibid.*, ll. 15–16.
[32] *P.Oxy.* 8.1160, late third or early fourth cent. AD, l. 14 for an example.
[33] *P.Oxy.* 8.1158, third century AD.
[34] *Ibid.*, ll. 10–13, 16–18.
[35] *P.Oxy.* 41.2983, second/third century AD.
[36] *Ibid.*, ll. 15, 18–19.
[37] *Ibid.*, ll. 10–12.

Besides the main incentive of work in Alexandria, there were also some secondary motives which led some segments of the population or individuals from the countryside to stay in the capital temporarily. Such motives can mainly be attributed to a phenomenon apparent in Egypt until now, i.e. the centralization of life in the capital, where most of the services and vital interests are concentrated. We have just seen the Oxyrhynchite who went to Alexandria to attend the διαλογισμός of the prefect there and considered joining the service of the prefect's chief usher to help him in presenting his petition.[38] There are also declarations from country-people in the nomes of Middle Egypt to the *strategoi* of their respective nomes in which they promise to go to Alexandria after harvest-time to be at the disposal of the judicial officials such as the *archidikastes* and the *dioiketes*.[39] Some others ask their friends or relatives who stay at Alexandria for work or to present petitions on their behalf, to follow their judicial cases, or to send them the proclamations of the high officials in order to arrange their affairs in accordance with them.[40]

Others from that area would sail down to Alexandria to enter military service. There, such men were usually examined to prove that they were physically fit for the service. A weaver from Oxyrhynchus got a certificate of release from military service granted by the prefect at Alexandria because he suffered from cataracts and shortness of sight.[41] It seems that a lot of people from the countryside used to go to Alexandria for reasons connected with serving in the army. In a private letter a daughter tells her mother (probably in the Fayyum) that she had safely arrived at Alexandria after a four-day journey; and she adds: 'And if Aion wishes to serve as a soldier let him come, for all are joining the army service.'[42]

Among the other purposes for which country-folk visited Alexandria were the religious ones—praying, offering dedications, and taking

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[38] See notes 16 and 17 above.

[39] *P.Fouad* 22, col. II. Arsinoite nome, 126 AD; *P.Fouad* 23, provenance unknown, 144 AD; *P.Fouad* 24, Arsinoite nome, 144 AD; *P.Flor.* 1.6, Hermopolis Magna, 210 AD.

[40] *P.Oxy*. 8.1155, ll. 11–13, 104 AD; 7.1070, ll. 32–42, third century AD; 8.1160, ll. 16–22, late third or early fourth century AD; *P.Flor.* 3.338, third century AD; *BGU* 7.1671, third century AD.

[41] *P.Oxy*. 1.39, 52 AD.

[42] *BGU* 7.1680, third century AD, ll. 9–10.

part in the festivals of the renowned temples of the city, and in particular the Great Temple of Sarapis. That temple enjoyed a reputation far and wide, and a great popularity in the Roman period equal to, if not more than, in the Ptolemaic era. Such was the reputation of the Alexandrian Serapeum that Wilcken confirmed that the mention of the formula of salutation of Sarapis[43] in a letter is fair evidence that Alexandria is its provenance.[44] Others would go there for an extremely contrary purpose, i.e., making love in the city. For example, we encounter in the Oxyrhynchus papyri a letter in which a father criticizes the bad morals of his son who was at Alexandria, saying 'you are staying at Alexandria with your paramour.'[45]

The phenomenon of country-people frequently staying in Alexandria seems to have been so grave at times that it required official reaction and interference to control it. There are examples of edicts and decrees of prefects and even emperors to keep as few of the country-folk in Alexandria as possible, especially the Egyptians. In 78/79 AD the prefect Aeternius Fronto issued orders that the country-people should present written declarations about their relatives who were sojourning in Alexandria.[46] The prefect Vibius Maximus in 104 AD admitted the city's need for some of the country-people, and asked those who thought that they have satisfactory reasons for remaining there to register themselves before the *praefectus alae*, whom he appointed for the purpose.[47] About a century later the prefect Subatianus Aquila ordered that the country-people be sent back to their original nomes at the time of the harvest.[48] In 215 the emperor Caracalla himself issued a decree ordering all the Egyptians in Alexandria, especially the country-folk who had fled from other parts, to be expelled by all means.[49] He only exempted those needed by the city to supply its needs, as well as the visitors and temporary residents who came for festivals, prayers, sacrifices, entertainment, and the enjoyment of civilized life, or those who came for incidental business.[50]

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[43] Examples of this formula are to be found in: *P.Mich.* 3.213, ll. 2–4; 8.477, second century AD, ll. 4–5; *P.Oxy.* 7.1070, ll. 7–9.
[44] Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 122.
[45] *P.Oxy.* 8.1160, ll. 24–26.
[46] *P.Oxy.* 36.2756, ll. 6–9.
[47] *P.Lond.* 3.904, 104 AD, ll. 30–35.
[48] *P.Flor.* 1.6, Hermopolis Magna, 210 AD; ll. 10–13.
[49] *P.Giess.* 40, col. II, ll. 16–29; 215 AD.
[50] *Ibid.*, ll. 19–22, 24–26.

This picture as a whole proves that Alexandria under the Romans was sometimes teeming with Egyptians from the countryside. A high proportion of them seem to have come from Middle Egypt, and more particularly from Oxyrhynchus, but most likely this is because of the nature of the available evidence, as the soil of Egypt preserved many more papyrological documents from those areas. At all events, although the country Egyptians rendered a lot of services to the capital—especially in the field of supplies, manual work, and handy professions—, they were an unwelcome problem for the ruling officials.

* * *

Now we come to the other side of the coin, i.e., the existence and activities of the Alexandrians in Middle Egypt. Under the Ptolemies—in spite of the insufficient evidence of Alexandrian land tenure—we have some evidence illustrating participation in agricultural life and landholding in the Alexandrian *'chora'* and in Middle Egypt on the part of the Alexandrians. They appear as holders of gift land γῆ ἐν δωρεᾷ, clerouchies of soldiers and officers κληρουχικὴ γῆ, and lands of the military settlers κατοικικὴ γῆ, as rewards by the king for their civil or military services. They must also have exploited part of their accumulated wealth from their great activities in trade and industry by purchasing and owning private land in the country.[51]

From the Roman period, however, the picture of this topic becomes much more clear, owing to far more abundant information. In general, the Romans adopted the Ptolemaic land system with slight additions and modifications to the framework and terminology. The Romans improved the state of the former 'Royal Land,' which deteriorated under the late Ptolemies out of neglect and abandonment. They also extended and increased its size through the confiscation of clerouchic and temple lands, and under these circumstances, the State Land became known as the category of 'Public Land' or δημοσία γῆ.[52] What is more relevant to our present topic, however, is that the Romans—unlike the Ptolemies—encouraged the private ownership of land. Confiscated, reclaimed, and dry land was sold in auctions and other ways to everyone; we have a lot of examples of this

[51] El-Abbadi 1960, 279–293.
[52] Abd-el-Ghani 1984.

process from various places in Middle Egypt, such as Oxyrhynchus, Tebtunis and Hermopolis.[53]

Let us try to trace the Alexandrians' existence and activities in Middle Egypt during the first two centuries AD. Many Alexandrians are attested in the documents as land-owners in the nomes of Middle Egypt, and more particularly those of the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite.[54] There also figure many examples of Alexandrian estate οὐσία—owners—particularly in the Fayyum.[55] It should be pointed out, however, that a lot of the Alexandrian land-owners in the Egyptian countryside, in general, and in the relatively distant region of Middle Egypt, in particular, were absentees who managed their properties there through their representatives. Nevertheless, some of them preferred to live in the country, where they had lands and participated in local activities.[56]

It is important to remember that in the course of the first two centuries A.D. the Alexandrians enjoyed equal rights with the Romans as regards taxation and were termed together in the tax-lists as 'οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς' in contrast with the other local people termed as 'ἐντόπιοι.'[57] It is also equally important in this context to remember that some of the Roman citizens in Egypt were originally Alexandrians who acquired the Roman citizenship, since the Alexandrian citizenship was certainly a prerequisite in Egypt to the Roman one, as we know from the famous letter of Pliny to the Emperor Trajan.[58]

In addition to agricultural and land activities, wealthy Alexandrians took considerable part in money-lending as an investment activity in the countryside. These Alexandrian financiers gave loans to the local people either with interest,[59] or on mortgage of real property,[60] on the security of slaves, or on account of services rendered to them.[61] A good example which might best represent the Alexandrians' activ-

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[53] El-Abbadi 1960, 296.
[54] *Ibid.*, Tables and Comments III, pp. 333–339; IV, pp. 340–358.
[55] *Ibid.*, Table II and its comments, pp. 317–324.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 357–53 and notes.
[57] *P.Merton* 2.63, ll. 7 ff., Arsinoite, 58 AD; *B.G.U.* 9.1894, Theadelphia, 157 AD, and the comprehensive commentary of El-Abbadi 1960, 326–330.
[58] Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 10.6–7.
[59] *P.Strasb.* 1.52, Hermopolis, 151 AD; *P.Flor.* 1.1, Hermopolis, 153 AD.
[60] *P.Berl.Möller* 2, Oxyrhynchus, the reign of Vespasian (69–79 AD).
[61] El-Abbadi 1960, 486.

ities in such financial and business contexts in the countryside is *P. Ross-Georg.* 2.18 from the Fayyum, dated 140 AD. In spite of the poor condition of the document—a long register of abstracts of miscellaneous contracts from a record office in the Fayyum—the surviving portions record at least sixteen contracts of financial activities of wealthy Alexandrians in one town or village in the Fayyum in one single month, Tybi. Such activities of money-lending by Alexandrians—and in a few cases to Alexandrian debtors[62]—sometimes resulted in protracted judicial cases in the law-courts between the Alexandrian money-lenders and the local debtors.[63]

There are also a few documents which indicate Alexandrian participation in other sorts of trades and professions in the towns and villages of Middle Egypt. In Oxyrhynchus (?), we encounter an Alexandrian master in the craft of linen weaving contracting with a Roman in the same city to teach the latter's son 'linen weaving in the sitting position,' ἐγδιδάξαι τὴν λινυφικὴν τῶν καθημένων τέχνην.[64] Another Alexandrian citizen figures in a document as lessor of a perfume shop in the Fayyum who is subletting in this contract one quarter of a one-half concession which he had from the authorities to manufacture and sell perfume and unguents in the Themistes division.[65] The shop appears to have been a big workshop and store, and his lessors seem to have been wholesale dealers in a system of government monopoly leased out to wealthy individuals. A third Alexandrian is attested to have leased from local men part of a pottery shop (κεραμεῖον) in Oxyrhynchus at the rate of nine obols a day.[66]

It seems to me that in most cases only the wealthy Alexandrian capitalists, and not the ordinary Alexandrians, would go to the countryside to invest their money in big projects with considerable profits. In this they might have aimed at avoiding the feverish rivalry in the

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[62] *P.Harris* 66, Heliopolis, 155 AD, where an Alexandrian is a debtor for 3000 drachmae at the interest rate of 8% and a man from Heliopolis who was formerly from Oxyrhynchus is the creditor.

[63] Cf. the case of Leonides the Alexandrian who exploited the mortgage of the loan of his Oxyrhynchite debtor Aristandos and his sons after him, 46 arourae of land, for a very long time, and refused to return the land to the heirs before they paid the debt; *P.Berlin Möller* 2 in note 60 above.

[64] *P.Fouad* 37, Oxyrhynchus (?), 48 AD.

[65] *P.Fayum* 93, Fayum, 161 AD.

[66] *P.Merton* 2.76, Oxyrhynchus, 181 AD.

Alexandrian market and ensuring a market of their own in localities in need of such products.

This was roughly the image of Alexandrian existence and economic activities in the countryside of Middle Egypt during the first two centuries of the Christian era as far as I could draw some of its features from the available evidence. If we turn now to the third century AD we will necessarily find a different image owing to changes in the previous conditions. That change and transformation which swept the Roman Empire as whole and Egypt in part was huge. In Egypt, that change can be described as the victory of the metropoleis (nome-capitals) over the capital (Alexandria) in the form of constitutional reforms.[67] At the very beginning of that century (199/200 AD). Septimius Severus granted the metropoleis, including the capital Alexandria, the right to form their own councils.[68] For the Alexandrians, that sort of measure must have been a hint of degradation in equating their great city with the nome-capitals.

More degrading still was Caracalla's grant of the Roman citizenship to all the peoples of the empire, as it deprived the Alexandrian citizenship of its former prestigious position.[69] The direct impact of such imperial measures on the Alexandrians, in what concerns our present topic, was quite obvious. We encounter in the papyri a new situation of 'Alexandrians living in the Χώρα gradually neglecting their personal and political connection with Alexandria, until in the end they fully identify themselves with the locality where they happen to own land.'[70] These Alexandrian settlers in the Egyptian chora had to take full share in the responsibilities of their local communities in conformity with their large land-holdings. In the following examples from the documentary evidence I will deal, for the time being, with the exclusive example of the Oxyrhynchite nome, owing to its relatively abundant material and my space limitations here.

The Alexandrian presence in Oxyrhynchus seems to have been common during the first two centuries AD, and to have increased even more during the third owing to the conditions mentioned above.

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[67] El-Abbadi 1960, 370.

[68] *P.S.I.* 13.1328 (May–June 201 AD); Dio Cassius 75.13; S.H.A., *Septimius Severus* 16–17. See Bowman 1971, and the previous studies of Jouguet, A.H.M. Jones and W.L. Westermann.

[69] Dio Cassius 77; Ulpian, D. 1, 5–7.

[70] El-Abbadi 1960, 371.

In two census-returns from the first and second centuries the persons who presented such returns denied the residence in their houses of Alexandrians, Romans or Egyptians, strangers or freedmen,[71] i.e., no one else except those registered in the declaration of the owner was residing in or inhabiting the houses in question. In spite of the negative evidence of the two documents one is led to understand that the three ethnics stated above constituted, together with the Oxyrhynchites of course, the main elements of population there.

Alexandrians in Oxyrhynchus—who must have been mainly big land-owners—seem mostly to have been temporary residents who used to frequent the Oxyrhynchite nome for their interests and advantages, while some might have been permanent residents, as I have pointed out above. Owing to the high standing of those Romans and Alexandrians in Oxyrhynchus they were respected and honored by the magistrates and people of that city. We find in a document from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161) the Romans and Alexandrians 'sojourning' in Oxyrhynchus taking part in a resolution decreed by the magistrates and people of the city to honor a gymnasiarch of the city by setting up a statue, a full-length portrait, and three shields for him.[72] To specify the 'sojourning' (τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσι) Romans and Alexandrians in the decree seems to me to imply that they were of higher and more lofty position than their fellows who were permanent settlers in the 'chora,' who might have been of the middle class.

This was not, however, the case during the third century, with its revolutionary changes. In various documents from that century we encounter Alexandrians and Romans who had previously held prominent magistracies in Alexandria, and who later came to Oxyrhynchus to settle there, most probably to look after their landed property, and held similar high offices in Oxyrhynchus.[73] Such cases present, in my view, a clear indication of the degradation of the status of the Alexandrians, and consequently of Alexandria, in Oxyrhynchus during the third century AD.

[71] *P.Oxy.* 2.255, 48 AD, ll. 18–23; 3.480, 132 AD, ll. 11–15.

[72] *P.Oxy.* 3.473, 138–160 AD, ll. 2, 7–8.

[73] *P.Oxy.* 34.2723, third century AD, ll. 1–2; 45.3245, 297 AD, ll. 3–5; 50.3568, c. 273–4 AD; 51.3612, 271–75 AD, ll. 1–4; cf. also 61.4121, 289–290 AD, ll. 2–4.

More indicative still of the decline of local status distinctions in the third century[74] is that the Romans and Alexandrians resident in the nome metropoleis became liable to membership in the city councils (as in the case of Oxyrhynchus in note 73 above), and consequently liable to the performance of those liturgies[75] classified as '*honores*.' The Alexandrians who had previously enjoyed the privilege of exemption from assuming local liturgies in the *chora* for two centuries, at least until the promulgation of the 'Constitutio Antoniniana' in 212, were, in the third century, exerting efforts to secure release from the enchoric liturgies.[76] Moreover, there were assigned to some Alexandrians in Oxyrhynchus onerous tasks or liturgies such as the supervision over the transport and lading of donkeys and cattle.[77] Nonetheless, these were far from being classified among the 'munera sordida' or humble and physical liturgies;[78] the assignment in one of them is issued by the prefect himself.

But the degradation and decline of the social and economic standing of the Alexandrians in Oxyrhynchus is further demonstrated in the system of corn dole which was distributed as a gift to the people of Oxyrhynchus after some scrutiny procedures.[79] The Oxyrhynchite council decreed that the resident Alexandrians would share in that gift of corn.[80] Some might regard that decree as an act of generosity and good will done to the Alexandrians,[81] but I would look at it as a symbol of humiliation. That gift of corn dole to the Alexandrians was not automatically and spontaneously granted to them. It was not an unconditional gift but rather it was strictly associated with stipulations like having a house and hearth[82] in Oxyrhynchus and performing the liturgies assigned.[83] They pass the scrutiny[84] after having their qualifications examined, and last but not least, a separate

[74] El-Abbadi 1974, 94.
[75] *Ibid.* 1993, 340.
[76] Delia 1991, 32, 98, and notes.
[77] *P.Oxy.* 40.2915, 268 AD; 51.3612, 271–5 AD.
[78] Cf. Bassiouni 2001, 32.
[79] For the Corn Dole Archive see *P.Oxy.* 40 (1972), by John Rea. Cf. also Turner 1975, 16–19.
[80] *P.Oxy.* 40.2916, 270–71 AD, ll. 6–8.
[81] Delia 1991, 32.
[82] *P.Oxy.* 40.2916, ll. 5, 8–10.
[83] *P.Oxy.* 40.2901, 268 AD; 2915, 269 AD.
[84] *P.Oxy.* 40.2927, ll. 1–2; 2932, ll. 2–3.

list of the Romans and Alexandrians eligible for the corn dole is appended beneath that of the Oxyrhynchites.[85]

In spite of fulfilling the required qualifications for sharing in that corn dole, and in spite of the decree of the Oxyrhynchite council in this regard, some of the names of the resident Alexandrians slipped from the register or escaped the notice of the relevant official. Consequently those unfortunate forgotten Alexandrians had to lose face and dignity and remind the official formally of his fatal inattention or oversight in a rather propitiatory manner, in an attempt to prove in every way their eligibility for and need of the dole. Although both the Alexandrians and Romans resident in Oxyrhynchus are put together in one category and granted an exceptional privilege of sharing in the corn dole with the Oxyrhynchites, only the Alexandrians, and not any Roman, as far as this archive is concerned, complained of the loss of some of their names from the register. The Romans referred to in such phrases are clearly understood as those of Roman origin and not those who acquired the Roman citizenship according to Caracalla's grant in 212 AD. Thus, it is obvious that the ethnic elements in the metropoleis did not melt in the melting-pot of the 'constitutio Antoniniana' even after more than half a century of that imperial grant. It rather weakened and degraded the status of the Alexandrians, and gave more importance and distinction to the metropolites.

In spite of this degraded position of the Alexandrians in the *chora* during the third century they still stuck to the renowned name of their great city with its most glorious past and fame. Although it is not clear from the Alexandrians' applications and complaints about their share in the corn dole in Oxyrhynchus, a matter justified by their being the weaker and needy party, the boastfulness of belonging to the most glorious city of the Alexandrians (ἡ λαμπροτάτη πόλις τῶν 'Αλεξανδρέων or ἡ λαμπροτάτη 'Αλξάνδρεια) is attested in a lot of documents from the third century.[86] But it is worth mentioning that this trend of glorification and boastfulness was not exclusive to Alexandria; many cities and nome-capitals figure in the documents of that century bearing such venerating epithets as λαμπρὰ καὶ

[85] *Ibid.*, 2901, ll. 5–6; 2915, ll. 18; 2916, ll. 6–8; 2927, ll. 3; 2932, ll. 4–5.

[86] See for example: *P.Oxy*. 34.2723, third century, ll. 1–2; 50.3568, c. 273/4, ll. 4–5; 61.4121, 289–90, ll. 3–4; 45.3245, 297, l. 3.

λαμπροτάτη πόλις, which was often assigned to Oxyrhynchus[87] in the documents, whether by the Oxyrhynchites or other residents. Other examples are to be found in Hermopolis Magna and Panopolis and elsewhere; Panopolis appears in a document related to the privileges of athletes and artists as the 'noble and most renowned and most reverend city of the Panopolites'—ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λογιμ[ωτ]άτῃ καὶ σεμνοτάτῃ Π[α]νοπολειτῶν πόλει.[88]

It is clear that in spite of the declining conditions of Egypt in the third century AD, boastfulness and fake pride were characteristic of the metropoleis after the establishment of town councils by Septimius Severus and the 'constitutio Antoniniana' of Caracalla. This sense of the metropoleis and the other Greek cities in Egypt of standing on equal footing with Alexandria is strongly felt in some documents of that century. In one of them the winners of the sacred games in Antinoopolis claimed to the emperors Valerian and Gallienus that the Alexandrian winners in those sacred games had received from the treasury for a certain period of time allowances which their fellow winners from Antinoopolis had not.[89] In response, the emperors issued a rescript allowing the Antinoites to present the documents of the case to the prefect of Egypt. In case of the truth of their claim, the matter was to be settled in a satisfactory manner for them by retroactively receiving their dues for that period and compensating them in the future for that fault.[90]

This clearly implies that there was not a hint of bias or additional prestige for the Alexandrian athletes who were taking part in the games of the metropoleis and other Greek cities. Furthermore, the famous Alexandrian athletes and artists participating in such games and contests did not find any grudge or imperfection in proclaiming that they were equally citizens of other metropoleis in addition to Alexandria. On the contrary, they look at that fact as a matter of honor and pride, boasting of being honorary citizens of those cities. An example of such artists is the 'astounding Marcus Aurelius

[87] From the examples in the previous note see: *P.Oxy.* 50.3568, ll. 7–9; 45.3245, l. 5. See also this same glorifying epithet of Oxyrhynchus in a lot of documents in the corn dole archive, *P.Oxy.* 40, and many other documents.
[88] *P.Oxy.* 27.2476, 287 AD, l. 17.
[89] *P.Oxy.* 51.3611, 253–57 AD, ll. 7–14.
[90] *Ibid.*, ll. 14–21.

Agathocles, called Asterius, citharode, citizen of Alexandria, and Antinoopolis and Lycopolis, victor in the Capitoline and Pythian games, victor in many games.'[91]

As for the relationship between the Alexandrians resident in the *chora* and their native Egyptian neighbors in those areas, the available documents reveal almost nothing worthy of mention in that regard. But this negative evidence does not necessarily mean that there were few or no connections between the two ethnic groups. There must have been a wide range of contacts between the Alexandrians and the native Egyptians, at least in what pertains to working conditions and other mutual interests. I have previously referred to the Alexandrian money-lenders and their financial activities in the local environment and the resulting tensions represented in protracted judicial cases. One should also expect work relations between the two parties, mostly represented by Egyptian peasants cultivating the large landholdings of the Alexandrians, or local workers in the investment projects alluded to above. How these peasants and workers from the native population were paid one cannot tell, but one might suppose that their wages were low, as they had to borrow money on interest from Alexandrian—and other—money-lenders. As the Alexandrians in the *chora* were classified together with the Romans in a lot of documents, one would expect that they treated the natives with some sort of superiority and haughtiness, as the Romans did, especially the veterans who settled among the natives. The ethnic barrier and antipathy between the native Egyptians on the one hand and the Romans and Alexandrians on the other seems to have been obvious.[92]

In concluding this paper I would like to point out that in spite of the changing fortunes of Alexandria and the Alexandrians during the early Roman period, the great city maintained its central role in some respects. She continued to be the city to which the local inhabitants of the *chora* would resort for their higher education, as is quite clear from the letter of a certain Neilus to his father Theon in Oxyrhynchus from late first century AD which was published by C.H. Roberts and quoted by E.G. Turner and Raffaella Cribiore.[93]

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[91] *P.Oxy.* 27.2476, 287 AD, ll. 20–21, 26–28.
[92] See Lewis 1983, 22–23.
[93] *P.Oxy.* 18.2190; Turner 1975, 5–9; Cribiore 2001, 57–58, 121–123.

In this private letter the student Neilus, who was most probably in Alexandria, speaks to his father Theon of listening to lectures given by lecturers whose names he mentioned, and of whom he did not think very highly; consequently he was very much concerned with the search for an efficient teacher. He refers in the context to his fellows, who might well have been from Oxyrhynchus as he mentioned the names of their fathers, who would have been known to his own father.[94] This text clearly implies that the sons of some of the well-to-do Greeks in the *chora* were in the habit of completing their higher education in Alexandria. Others could follow that education and extend their scope of knowledge while at home in Oxyrhynchus by ordering some selected books from book-dealers in Alexandria to be sent forward to them, as is clear from an interesting letter from the second century.[95]

Not only books and learning were sought in Alexandria but on several occasions the necessary tools and machines required for agricultural work in the country were brought from Alexandria. In an Oxyrhynchite document from the fourth century, a list concerning the supply of axles for water-wheels in Oxyrhynchus, there are several mentions in the document of such axles that were brought or imported from Alexandria ἀπὸ τ[ῶν ἐν̣ε̣χθέντ(ων) ἀ̣πὸ [Ἀ]λεξ[α]νδρ(είας) . . . ἄξο(ν) α̣.[96] Thus, even in the late Roman period when Alexandria lost, to a large extent, its former prestige she still retained some elements of its distinction in a wide range of cultural, administrative, and economic activities, and the everyday needs of the country. She was still the 'capital.'

[94] *P.Oxy.* 18.2190, ll. 22–23.
[95] *P.Oxy.* 18.2192, second century. Cf. Turner 1952, 92.
[96] *P.Oxy.* 19.2244, ll. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 42, 60, 62, 74.

CHAPTER NINE

GALEN'S ALEXANDRIA

Heinrich von Staden

Introduction

Galen of Pergamum makes for a promising case study in a second-century Greek intellectual's encounter with Alexandria. More than 170 extant treatises have been transmitted under his name, of which almost 140 are widely accepted as authentic.[1] This exceptionally large corpus of extant writings by a single author who had strong views on just about everything and everyone includes many comments on Alexandria, including claims of personal observation. After (1) a brief introduction, my analysis of Galen's remarks about Alexandria will proceed through the following sections: (2) Galen's "Alexandria" before Alexandria; (3) food and drugs; (4) urban practice and specialization; snakes and the death penalty; (5) Alexandria's medical elite: anatomy, Methodism, exegesis; (6) a second-century Alexandrian "school" of anatomy?

Since the chronological details—some quite murky—of Galen's Egyptian sojourn have been covered in recent years by other scholars,[2] I confine myself to a few biographical essentials. Born in Pergamum, probably in 129, as the son of a wealthy landowner who had wide-ranging scientific interests (for example, in architecture, mathematics, astronomy, agriculture, regimen, grammar, and logic),[3] Galen

[1] Most of the extant works are preserved in Greek, but some are transmitted only in ninth-century Arabic translations, and some only in Latin translations ranging from late antiquity to the early Renaissance.

[2] See Walsh 1927; Nutton 1973, 162 n. 6; *id.* 1987 and 1993; Grmek and Gourevitch 1988, 50–51, and 1994, 1514–6; Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 90–99. On the Arabic tradition concerning Galen in Egypt see also Boudon 1994–1995, especially 67–9; below, n. 136.

[3] Galen himself appears to provide the most reliable information about his father: *De animi affectuum dignotione et curatione* 8.5 (Kühn 1821–1833 [hereafter = K]) 5:42 = *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* [hereafter = *CMG*] V.4.1.1:28); *De bonis malisque sucis* I.15 (K 6:755 = *CMG* V.4.2:392); see also Strohmaier 2002:115. Less reliable are several

started his medical training in Asia Minor (see below).[4] Ambitious and desiring the best possible training, he left Asia Minor in his early twenties—some time after his father died in 149 or 150[5]—to study with one of the more renowned Alexandrian anatomists of his day, Numisianus, who at that time was said to be in Corinth.[6] Most modern accounts have claimed that upon his arrival in Corinth Galen discovered that Numisianus had already returned to Alexandria and that he therefore followed the great anatomist to Alexandria, where Numisianus died soon after Galen's arrival.[7] But recently rediscovered, not entirely unequivocal evidence has prompted some scholars to suggest that Numisianus may have died shortly before Galen arrived in Corinth.[8] The issue remains unresolved (see below, pp. 206–209), but regardless of when and where Numisianus died, neither version gives any reason to doubt that Galen in fact proceeded from Corinth to Alexandria, where he remained at least the next four years, and possibly as long as six years. It likewise is reasonably certain that he returned from Alexandria to Pergamum at the age of 28,[9] probably in 157, even if the year of his arrival in Alexandria continues to be disputed, the most plausible reconstructions putting it in the autumn of 151, 152, or 153.[10]

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of the details provided by *Suda*, s.v. Γαληνός (Γ.32); Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 12 (*Hist.* 397).1–35; and the identification of Galen's father with one of two architects—Aelius Nicon and Iulius Nicodemus, ὁ καὶ Νείκων (ὁ) νέος—attested by *IGRR* IV, nos. 502–506 (cf. *PIR*² A.226). See Schöne 1891, 90–3; Diller 1936, 507–508; Halkin 1944, 112; Nutton 1973, 161–2; *id.*, *CMG* V.8.1:183; Kollesch 1981, 9–10 n. 5; Habicht 1969, 124–5 (no. 104); Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 5, 40–54.

[4] Nutton 1973, 159–161; Grmek and Gourevitch 1994, 1519–22; Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 71–90.

[5] Galen was twenty when his father died: *De bonis malisque sucis* 1.18 (K 6:756 = *CMG* VI.4.2:393 Helmreich). For his profound admiration for his father see, e.g., *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione* 8.1–2 (K 5:40–41 = *CMG* V.4.1.1:27–8 De Boer), and above, n. 3.

[6] Gal., *On Anatomical Procedures* 1.1 (K 2:217–8 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3). See Nutton 1973, 162 n. 6; *id.* 1987; nn. 109–112 below.

[7] Walsh 1927, 132; Deichgräber, 1937, 1398; Smith 1979, 69; Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 90. Simon 1906, 2:336 n. 569, by contrast, claims that Galen became Numisianus's student in Corinth.

[8] See Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3; Nutton 1987, 237; Grmek and Gourevitch 1988, 50–1, 57 n. 50; Nutton 1993, 14, 15; Grmek and Gourevitch 1994, 1514–5.

[9] Gal., *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 3.2 (K 13:599): ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα γεγονὼς ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι.

[10] See Grmek and Gourevitch 1988, 50–52; and 1994, 1514; Nutton 1993, 12 n. 3; below, n. 69 and pp. 189–190.

Galen's "Alexandria" before Alexandria

Galen's motivations for going to Alexandria probably were complex, but they included certain expectations he had of Alexandria prior to his arrival in North Africa. To the extent that these can be disentangled from his rhetorical cunning and from the inevitably self-serving nature of many of his autobiographical remarks, his expectations were shaped by the belief that Alexandria was a major centre of excellence in scientific medicine. Alexandria's medical fame dates back to the early third century BCE, when the first systematic dissections of human cadavers were performed in Alexandria by Herophilus of Chalcedon;[11] indeed, Galen claimed that the Alexandrian anatomical discoveries of the early third century BCE represented a pinnacle unmatched until his own century.[12] The brilliant anatomical reputation of early Ptolemaic Alexandria, he suggested, had been re-secured for Roman Alexandria by Numisianus and possibly by other physicians of the first half of the second century (see below). It should not be overlooked, however, that distinguished representatives of various "elite" or "scientific" traditions of Greek medicine practised in Alexandria almost continuously in the four centuries between Herophilus and Numisianus (as undoubtedly did representatives of non-elite medicine) and that Galen had extensive familiarity, direct or indirect, with the works of many of them.[13]

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[11] See von Staden 1989, 139–153; *id.*, 1992.

[12] See below, n. 90.

[13] Among the famous physicians who practised—or at least spent some time—in Alexandria in the third century BCE were not only Herophilus of Chalcedon but also Andreas of Carystus, Philinus of Cos, Serapion of Alexandria, Bacchius of Tanagra, Callimachus the Herophilean, and Xenophantus of the deme Heracleius, who was honored with an inscription by Ptolemy III Euergetes for his services to the king (on Xenophantus see now Samama 2003, 473–4, no. 393). To the second century BCE Alexandrian physicians belonged the Herophileans Zeno, Demetrius of Apamea, Hegetor, and Mantias, as well as the Empiricists Glaucias of Tarentum, Apollonius of Antioch, Apollonius Byblas, and Ptolemaeus of Cyrene. In the first-century BCE the famous Empiricists Heraclides of Tarentum, Apollonius of Citium, and Zopyrus as well as the Herophileans Dioscurides Phacas (who served as Cleopatra's emissary), Chrysermus, Apollonius Mys, and Heraclides of Erythrae spent time in Alexandria, as apparently did the famous surgeons Philoxenus, Gorgias, and Sostratus. Whether any of the first-century CE. Empiricists, such as Cassius (see von Staden 1997), practised in Alexandria remains uncertain. In an inscription of 7 CE the collectivity of Alexandrian physicians honored the *archiatros* Gaius Proculeius Themison; see Römer 1990; Kayser 1994; Samama 2003, 474–5 (no. 394). On the designa-

There is little doubt that well before he left Asia Minor the young Galen, at least through his teacher Pelops (see below), for whom he seems to have had greater admiration than for any of his other teachers,[14] already had some familiarity with contemporary Alexandrian anatomy as represented by Numisianus. Furthermore, from his mentors in Pergamum and Smyrna and through his extensive reading Galen had learned about the illustrious, in part revolutionary history of medicine in Ptolemaic Alexandria. In all likelihood it was during his student years in Asia Minor that he read Marinus's famous anatomical treatise in twenty books (no longer extant) and produced an abbreviated version of it in four books (also lost),[15] and through Marinus's work too he may have become familiar with the remarkable history of Greek anatomy in the Hellenistic epoch.[16] Sooner or later he became aware, for example, that Herophilus in the early third century BCE had became the first ancient scientist—and one of only two ancient Greeks, the second being Herophilus' younger contemporary Erasistratus[17]—to perform programmatic dissections of human cadavers.[18] (It is less clear whether Galen, like Aulus Cornelius Celsus, Tertullian, and several later writers, also knew that, with the complicity of his royal patrons, Herophilus had performed vivisectory

tion *archiatros* see Nutton 1977. For overviews of Alexandrian medicine in the Ptolemaic period see Fraser 1972, 1:336–376; Deichgräber 1965; von Staden 1989, 445–558; *id.* 2001, 708–724. See also Fabricius 1972, Garofalo 1988, von Staden 1991, and Kollesch and Nickel 1993 for Galen's extensive direct and indirect use of a vast array of Hellenistic sources.

[14] For some of the relevant evidence see Smith 1979, 69.

[15] Many years later Galen offered an extensive book-by-book account both of his own epitome and of Marinus's great work: Gal., *De libris propriis* 3 (K 19:25–30 = *Scripta Minora* 2: 104–8 Müller): τῶν Μαρίνου βιβλίων ἀνατομικῶν εἴκοσιν ὄντων ἐν τέτταρσιν ὑμετέροις ἐπιτομή. See also Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.3, 2.1, 2.2, 4.10, 7.10 (K 2:234, 280, 283, 470, 621 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:23, 71, 73, 263; 2:445) and 9.9, 14.2, 14.4 (Simon 1906, 1:11–12, 231–3, 246 = *id.*, 2:8–9, 167–8, 178 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 9–10, 183–5, 195–6 = Garofalo 1991, 2:836–7, 3:1040–42, 1054) for the mix of praise and criticism with which Galen responded to Marinus's large treatise on anatomy. See also below, nn. 90, 92–3.

[16] That Marinus cited precursors in his anatomical treatise is confirmed, e.g., by Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 9.2 (K 2:716 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 2:516).

[17] On Erasistratus see Garofalo 1988.

[18] Eg., Gal., *De uteri dissectione* 5.2 (K 2:895 = *CMG* V.2.1, p. 42 Nickel = von Staden 1989, 219–20, fr. 114): "ἕτερα δὲ τέτταρα. (sc. ἀγγεῖα) οὐκ ἐπὶ πασῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐφ' ὧν," φησὶν Ἡρόφιλος, "τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς ἰόντων ἀποφυόμενα εἰς τὴν μήτραν ἐμβάλλει", ὅπερ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων οὐχ εὗρον πλὴν σπανίως ἐν πιθήκοις. οὐ μὴν ἀπιστῶ τὸ πολλάκις εὑρεῖν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ γυναικῶν τὸν Ἡρόφιλον· ἱκανός γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῶν δι' ἀνατομῆς γινωσκομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον

experiments on prisoners.)[19] There is no doubt that Galen acquired detailed knowledge of many of Herophilus's anatomical discoveries.[20] He knew, for example, that Herophilus had discovered not only the nerves but also the distinction between sensory nerves and motor nerves, the heart valves, the basic structure both of the brain and of the heart, the systematic anatomical distinction between arteries and veins, and the ovaries, not to mention numerous other small anatomical structures, also in the male reproductive tract.[21] Unlike other branches of scientific medicine, this anatomical tradition was far from continuous, but it had been re-animated in the early decades of the second century CE, not only in Alexandria but also in Rome, Pergamum, Smyrna, and elsewhere, especially by Marinus, Quintus, Numisianus, Satyrus, Aeficianus, Pelops, Lycus of Macedonia, Heraclianus, perhaps also Antigenes and others, even if, after the third century BCE, systematic dissection and vivisection were restricted to animals.

Anatomy was, however, not the only medical subject that the young Galen associated with Alexandria. He reports that, as a student in Smyrna, he witnessed a debate between Numisianus's pupil Pelops and Philip of Pergamum, an Empiricist. As an exercise for himself, he immediately transcribed their arguments (some of which he had probably previously heard from two of his Empiricist teachers in Pergamum) and the result was his early treatise *On Medical Experience*.[22] This extant work provides evidence that, even before he

ἥκων καὶ τὴν πλείστην ἐπίγνωσιν οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀλόγων ζῴων, καθάπερ πολλοί, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποιημένος.

[19] See von Staden 1989, 144–53; *id.* 1992. It has been argued that Erasistratus, like Herophilus, conducted his vivisections of prisoners in Alexandria, but where Erasistratus practised remains controversial, in part because neither Galen nor any other ancient source explicitly locates him in Alexandria; see Fraser 1969; Lloyd 1975; Garofalo, 1988, 18, 21. It is not inconceivable that Galen alluded to this ghastly episode in his lost work on vivisection (see *De ordine librorum suorum* 2 [K 19:55.6 = *Scripta Minora* 2:84.18–19]: δύο . . . τὰ ⟨περὶ⟩ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ζῶντων [*scil.* ἀνατομῆς]), but in his extant works he never mentions it.

[20] E.g., von Staden 1989, 182–6, 190–94, 196–203, 206–12, 215–27; *id.* 1991.

[21] See von Staden 1989, chapters VI–VII.

[22] Galen reports that he lost this early work but that it was given back to him when he returned to Pergamum from his first sojourn in Rome at the age of 37 (ca. 166 CE): *De libris propriis* 2 (K 19:16–17 = *Scripta Minora* 2:97 Müller). Galen's Pergamene teachers included the Empiricists Aeschrion and Epicurus; see Wellmann 1893; Diller 1938, Kudlien 1962; Deichgräber 1965, 215–6, 266, 408; and below, n. 134. For *On Medical Experience*, extant only in a ninth-century Arabic translation discovered at Istanbul in 1931 (cod. Aya Sofya 3725, fol. 135b–182b), see Walzer 1944.

went to Alexandria, Galen was thoroughly familiar with a fierce methodological and epistemological dispute that had started in third-century BCE Alexandrian medical circles and that decisively shaped both the ancient and the modern historiography of Greek medicine, often with distorting effects. In *On Medical Experience* he introduces third-century BCE Alexandrian physicians such as the Empiricist Serapion and the "rationalist" Herophilus in his account of the dispute between physicians who called themselves Empiricists (οἱ ἐμπειρικοί) and their motley opponents, whom the Empiricists lumped together under the influential but historically misleading collective labels "rationalist school" or "sect" (αἵρεσις λογική), "dogmatists" (δογματικοί), and "rationalists" (λογικοί).[23] Chapter 3 of the treatise suggests that already in Asia Minor he also was aware that this battle of the "sects" was later joined by a third medical "sect," the Methodists (μεθοδικοί), one of whose later advocates, Julian, he encountered in Alexandria (see below).

Moreover, through his teachers in Asia Minor Galen had become aware that a rich tradition of philologico-medical exegesis of Hippocratic texts, both in the form of commentaries and in the form of lexica, had flourished in Alexandria ever since the third century BCE, and that Numisianus, Pelops, and Julian were but the most recent representatives of this long Alexandrian exegetical tradition.[24] And already in Smyrna and Pergamum he had probably become acquainted with Alexandrian contributions to pharmacology, including influential taxonomic innovations introduced as early as the second century BCE.[25] At least some of his Asian mentors took a keen interest in all these subjects (see below).

In short, Galen's expectations of Alexandria would have been conditioned not only by the immediate appeal of Numisianus's anatomical renown but also by the rich variety of medical research for which the city was then known and had long been famous. Despite

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[23] See Walzer 1944, 87–8, 109–110, 135; Deichgräber 1965, 101–104 (fr. 23b), 400–406. On "schools" and "school" labels see also von Staden 1982; *id.* 1999.

[24] See von Staden 1989, 427–432; Manetti and Roselli 1994, 1569–1635; Deichgräber 1965, 220–49 (fr. 309–65), 317–22, 400–419; Kudlien 1989; Ihm 2001, *passim*. See also below, nn. 80, 128–130.

[25] For example, by Mantias and Apollonius Mys, whose contributions to pharmacology Galen repeatedly cites; see von Staden 1989, 515–8, 543–54. See also Deichgräber 1965, 185–201, on the Hellenistic Empiricists' contributions to pharmacology.

Galen's overt rejection of history as irrelevant to science, he had more than a covert interest in the history of medicine and, in particular, in his own place within that history.[26] He could not insert himself into that history forever without a sound knowledge of Alexandrian medical traditions. In the second century there admittedly were several other distinguished centres of medical education, notably in Asia Minor (for example, Ephesus and Tarsus), but even then Alexandria remained a magnet for physicians. Two of Galen's more famous early second-century predecessors, Rufus of Ephesus and Soranus of Ephesus, are attested to have gone to Egypt,[27] as are many lesser physicians. Inscriptional and other evidence of this period confirms the presence in Egypt of physicians from, for example, Athens, Cilicia, Pontus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, and Syrian Antioch.[28] And the lure of Alexandria and Egypt continued in subsequent centuries.[29] More than sixty Greek inscriptions concerning physicians in Egypt survive; they date from the third century BCE to late antiquity.[30] If Galen's expectations were in part influenced by the remarkable history of Alexandrian medicine from the early Ptolemaic period to his own day, as transmitted to him by some of his teachers in Asia Minor and by works he had read as a student, what features of Alexandria made the strongest impression on him after his arrival there?

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[26] For Galen's occasional conceit that he excluded historical questions and *polyhistoria* from his richly historical works, and for his tendency to oppose the merely "historical" to "the useful" (τὸ χρήσιμον), see, e.g., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum III comment.* 2.4 (K 17A:604–5 = *CMG* V.10.1:78 Wenkebach). See also Manetti and Roselli 1994, 1562; von Staden 1995.

[27] Rufus, *Quaestiones medicales* 67 (p. 15.3 Gärtner, Teubner ed.) claims to have made personal observations in Egypt: ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶδον ἄνθρωπον Ἀράβιον ἔχοντα τὴν νόσον τήνδε. According to the less reliable *Suda*, s.v. Σωρανός (σ.851, 4:407.20–21 Adler), Soranus spent time in Alexandria.

[28] See Nutton 1993, 13; Samama 2003, 473–504 (no. 391–452). Many of the sources do not distinguish systematically between "Egypt" and "Alexandria," but it is not unreasonable to infer that many Greek physicians who took the trouble of travelling to the Nile Valley would not have bypassed Alexandria.

[29] See, e.g., Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 22.16.18; Nutton 1972.

[30] Samama 2003, 473–504 (no. 391–452).

Food and drugs

Not long after his arrival in Egypt Galen apparently gave up all hope of learning much from the city's medical elite, as we shall see below. From then on his curiosity appears to have been aroused above all by what he viewed as the exoticism of some Alexandrian foods and dietary habits, i.e., by their deviation from what he deemed the healthy Greek norms of Asia Minor. In the first instance this was not a cultural or ethnographic but a medical interest, although Galen did contribute to Greek traditions of identifying physical and other differences between Greeks and various non-Greeks. He tried to understand the consequences of the Alexandrians' dietary peculiarities for their health. In *On the Powers of Foods*, for example, Galen raised the question why some people are able to digest foods that would cause indigestion and even serious diseases in most people (by which he apparently meant the average educated Greek). "In Alexandria," he remarked, "they even eat the meat of donkeys and some of them also eat camel meat"[31]—meats which he believed to be harmful to one's health. He speculated that three factors might explain why not all Alexandrians became ill from eating them. The first is habituation: over time bodies can adapt even to such noxious foods. Secondly, the Alexandrians ate only modest quantities of these meats. Third, since hard physical labor all day long induces a thorough evacuation of the body, such perilous, indigestible foods do not remain in the body long enough to cause diseases.[32] The third observation—and perhaps the second as well—suggests that Galen may have thought of the consumption of donkey and camel meat as characteristic of the working class.

Even if some hard-working Alexandrians successfully digested these foods, Galen claimed that others became ill from consuming them. Indeed, in *On Therapeutics to Glaucon* he identified donkey meat as one of the causes of cancer-like lumps that sometimes arise all over the body, especially in Alexandria. These lumps, he said, often require painful surgery to avoid the development of the skin disease known in antiquity as elephantiasis (identified by modern scholars as leprosy)[33]

[31] *De alimentorum facultatibus* 1.2.8 (K 6:486 = *CMG* V.4.2:220 Helmreich).
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] On elephantiasis and its retrospective diagnosis as leprosy see Grmek 1989,

which, Galen said, very rarely occurred in Mysia and among the Germanic tribes, and almost never among the milk-drinking Scythians. By contrast,

> in Alexandria elephantiasis occurs very often because of their diet. You see, they eat gruel, lentil-soup, snails, and a lot of dried fish; some of them also eat donkey meat (ὄνεια κρέα) and other such things that produce a thick humour of black bile. Inasmuch as the surrounding [air] is hot, the weight of the movement of these humours is in the direction of the skin, [thus causing the lumps].[34]

The dietary exoticism of the Alexandrians did not, however, invariably entail peril or nutritional uselessness, in Galen's view. Elsewhere he described a typical Alexandrian diet as more benign, consisting of dried fish (ταρίχη), leeks (or perhaps a leek-like seaweed, πράσον), and barley beer (ζῦθος).[35] And more than once he attributed a useful effect to foods he first encountered in Alexandria. Of pistachios (πιστάκια), for example, he said:

> [Pistachios] are produced in great Alexandria, but much more so in Beroea in Syria. They have very little nutritional value, but they are useful both for the strength of the liver and at the same time also for purging juices blocked in its passages, for they have a share of a somewhat bitter, somewhat astringent, and aromatic quality . . . I can bear witness (ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν) to the fact that no noteworthy help or harm arises from them for the stomach, just as they have no laxative or constipating effect on the stomach.[36]

About another botanical curiosity, sycomore-figs, which he saw only in Alexandria, he said:

> In Alexandria I saw the tree of the sycomore-fig (τὸ τοῦ συκομόρου φυτόν) along with its fruit, which resembles a small pale fig (σύκῳ μικρῷ λευκῷ). Inasmuch as it has a bit of a share of sweetness, it has no harshness; it also has a somewhat moist and cooling property, just like mulberries. One might quite reasonably rank it between mulberries (μόρα) and figs (σῦκα), whence, I believe, it also was given its name.

152–76, especially 168–73; so too Nutton 1993, 25 n. 60 ("possibly a form of Hansen's disease").

[34] *Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi* 2.12 (K 11:142).

[35] *In Hippocratis Aphorismos comment.* 2.20 (K 17B:492–3). Galen hypothetically contrasted the effects of this diet with those of a diet of lentil soup, medlars, and astringent wine, but without offering much detail.

[36] *Alim. fac.* 2.30 (K 6:612 = *CMG* V.4.2:300 Helmreich).

> You see, all those who say that this fruit is called "sycomore-figs" (συκόμορα, lit. "fig-mulberries" or "fig-blackberries") because it resembles insipid [dull, pale?] figs (σῦκοις μωροῖς) are ridiculous.[37]

Galen's emphasis on his own observations in Alexandria as the source of this account (ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ . . . εἶδον) serves in part to lend his etymology and his description of the fruit a certain legitimacy and to put rival etymologies in question. But it also confirms the interest he had during his Alexandrian years in the nutritional and medicinal properties of every newly encountered botanical or other substance—an encyclopaedic interest which later prompted his monumental treatises on foodstuffs, on simples, and on compound drugs.

On the Composition of Drugs According to Places provides a further example of Galen's observation of Alexandrian botanical peculiarities:

> Apply to the forehead [to treat headaches] a poultice made of equal parts of the seed of a chaste-tree, green leaves of a Persaia-tree, and myrrh, along with Egyptian oil.[38] Only in Alexandria have I seen the tree of the Persaia (ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μόνῃ τὸ τῆς Περσαίας δένδρον εἶδον), but not in any of the other localities subject to Roman rule. Some call it "Persion" and say that the fruit of this tree is deadly in Persia but harmless in the land of the Egyptians . . .[39]

In *On the Powers of Foods* Galen confirmed that Alexandria was the place where he personally observed the Persaia-tree and its fruit:

> This tree too I saw in Alexandria (εἶδον . . . ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ), since it too is one of the great [local] trees. It is recorded that in Persia its fruit is so harmful that it kills those who have eaten it, whereas, when the tree was brought to Egypt, its fruit became edible and is eaten there in about the same way as are pears and apples, with which it belongs in size too.[40]

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[37] *De alimentorum facultatibus* 2.35 (K 6:616–7 = *CMG* V.4.2:302–3 Helmreich). This Near Eastern tree, Ficus Sycomorus, is related to the common fig, and it bears an edible fruit. It should not be confused with the North American plane trees (e.g., Platanus occidentalis) known as "sycamores" or with the "sycamore maple" (Acer pseudoplatanus) of Europe and Western Asia. See LSJ Suppl. (1996), p. 283, s.v. συκόμορος, for "sycomore" vs. "sycamore" (cf. LSJ, 9th ed., p. 1670, s.v.).

[38] Often alert to problems that might arise from an unstable, non-standardized nomenclature, Galen subsequently informs his readers that "Egyptian oil" also goes by the names "Mendesion" and "Megaleion," the latter because it was first composed by a certain Megalus, the former because this Megalus was from Mendes; Gal., *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 2.2 (K 12:570.2–7).

[39] *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 2.2 (K 12:569.14–570.2).

[40] *De alimentorum facultatibus* 2.36 (K 6:617 = *CMG* V.4.2:303 Helmreich).

Intrigued by the radically different properties displayed by the same fruit in different localities, Galen referred to this radical Persian-Egyptian difference several other times, eventually offering an explanation in *On the Causes of Symptoms*, where he attributed it to differences in the soil.[41]

In *On a Thinning Diet*—i.e., a diet that thins (λεπτύνει) the humours and, in Galen's view, therefore is indicated for the majority of chronic diseases—he commented on another famous Alexandrian food (albeit one far from unique to Alexandria):

> In Alexandria, Cyprus, Phoenicia, Lycia, and Cilicia dates do not even tolerate being preserved but are eaten only fresh, since they rot easily due to their excessive moisture. And though the harm of the other [kind]—the dates that are prepared for preservation—is in fact less, their juice [humour] nevertheless is no less thick than that of fresh dates. Consequently, one should guard against their consumption during the above-mentioned [chronic] illnesses.[42]

Galen here classified dates with sweet new wine (*gleukos, gleukinos*), sweet grapes, and all but the freshest figs as inappropriate for a thinning diet: the only good thing about them is that they pass through the body quickly, thereby doing little harm.[43]

The potential danger of eating dates, at least for those not accustomed to them, was vividly illustrated to Galen upon his arrival in Alexandria. In *On Tremor, Palpitation, Spasm, and Rigor* he describes a case of a recurrent rigor (τὸ ῥῖγος) that arose from an excess of phlegm due to an immoderate consumption of fresh but not entirely ripe dates:

> I also saw (εἶδον) this [*scil.* the type of rigor caused by cold phlegm] happen to a young man, one of my fellow-students in Alexandria, when we first put in there at the beginning of autumn. For several days in a row, both after and before bathing, he consumed many soft, fresh palm-dates, but most of them were not completely ripe. What first happened to him was that the rigor started from a vehement shivering after exercise and a bath. Because of this, he expected that he would have a fever, so he lay down and, having covered himself with

[41] *De symptomatum causis* 3.4 (K 7:227–8), where the tree is called τὸ Περσικὸν φυτόν.

[42] *De uictu attenuante* 12.91 (*CMG* V.4.2:447.7–12 Kalbfleisch).

[43] *Ibid.* (12.89–91, pp. 446.32–447.7).

> cloaks, remained quiet. As he was without fever once the entire night had passed, he got up at dawn for the customary things but, at this [once again] becoming afflicted with shivering, he lay down again and kept quiet until the hour for his bath . . .[44]

Whenever the student moved, his shivering recurred with a strength proportional to his motion; this remission and recurrence of shivering is, in Galen's view, characteristic of a "rigor" due to an excess of phlegm (as opposed to a "rigor" due to an excess of black bile or yellow bile).

Galen's interest was aroused not only by unusual foods and by general dietary habits in Alexandria, but also by the eccentric diets of individual Alexandrians. In a section of *On the Powers of Foods* devoted to pulses (ὄσπρια), such as beans, peas, chickpeas, lentils, and lupins, he recounted the unusual diet of a young vegetarian doctor:

> I knew a young man practising the medical *techne* in Alexandria who each day for four years used only [pulses as food]: fenugreek, calavances, birds' peas, and lupines. Sometimes he also took olives from Memphis, vegetables, and a few fruits. All of these were eaten without cooking them. You see, he had resolved not even to light a fire. He in fact remained healthy all those years, and [after four years] his body was in no worse condition than when he started. Of course he did eat these foods with fish-sauce, sometimes pouring only olive oil onto the fish-sauce, sometimes also wine, at times vinegar as well, but on occasion he also ate them only with salt, as when he ate lupines.[45]

Galen evidently was surprised that the young doctor's diet was not harmful. He attributed this to the fact that two of the pulses it contained—calavances and birds' peas—are midway between foods that contain good and bad juices, and hence had intermediate qualities: between digestible and indigestible nutriment, between the costive

[44] *De tremore, palpitatione, conuulsione et rigore* 7 (K 7:635–6). See below n. 69.

[45] *De alimentorum facultatibus* 1.25.2 (K 6:539 = *CMG* V.4.2:252.8–17 Helmreich). I have reluctantly adopted the common translation of φάσηλος as "calavance" and ὦχρος as "birds' pea." My reservations are twofold: first, the English word "calavance" (ultimately derived from the Spanish word for chick-pea, *garbanzo*) can refer to any of several kinds of pulse; secondly, even the ancient Greeks were not always sure of the exact meanings of these terms, as is evident from Galen's discussion of another problematic pulse-name, δόλιχος, and its relation to φάσηλος and ὦχρος: *Alim. fac.* 1.28 (K 6:541–6 = *CMG* V.4.2:254–6 Helmreich). See also André 1985, 90 (s.v. *dolichos*), 196 (s.vv. *phaselus, phaselus Alexandrinus*); Grant 2000, 102–5; van der Eijk 2001, 1:342–8 (frs. 193–195ab), 2:378–9 (on fr. 193a).

and the laxative foods, between the less and the more nutritious substances, between the flatulent and the non-flatulent foods, etc. Despite the young doctor's harmless, prolonged use of this very limited but, in part, qualitatively intermediate vegetarian diet, Galen was far from recommending it to others, even if he implied in a subsequent chapter that Alexandrian peasants, like those in many another *polis*, regularly used the same two "intermediate" pulses (birds' peas and calavances) as this young Alexandrian doctor.[46]

Not only the exotic foods and diets of Alexandria stirred Galen's interest. As on his other journeys, his curiosity was also engaged by unusual substances that might have medicinal value. In three massive pharmacological works—*On the Temperaments and Properties of Simple Drugs*, *On the Composition of Drugs According to Places* (i.e., according to topical application), and *On the Composition of Drugs According to Kinds*—he mentioned several such substances peculiar to Alexandria and Egypt as well as distinctive local therapeutic uses of certain medicaments. In a lengthy account of the medicinal properties of various clays and soils, for example, he reports (from personal observation) the benefits of using a thick, rich, processed Egyptian clay used to treat bodily parts in need of being dried out:

> Many people both in Alexandria and in Egypt use it. Many do so by their own free choice, but many others are inspired by dreams to do so. At Alexandria I saw (εἶδον) some people suffering from dropsy and spleen disorders who used the clay of Egyptian soil. And many clearly benefitted from rubbing the clay of this soil onto their lower legs, thighs, forearms, upper arms, backs, sides, and breasts.[47]

At least since the Hippocratic Corpus,[48] Egyptian ingredients had been a well-known, often coveted staple of Greek pharmacology and, despite Galen's warnings against adulterated ingredients produced in Alexandria (see below), Galen continued this rich, long tradition of

[46] *De alimentorum facultatibus* 1.26 (K 6:540 = *CMG* V.4.2:253 Helmreich). I say "implies," because it is not altogether certain that οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν should be understood to refer to ἄγροικοι (as does the preceding οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀσίαν ἄγροικοι).

[47] *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 9.1.2 (K 12:177).

[48] Among the products explicitly labeled "Egyptian" by Hippocratic writers are certain kinds of sodium carbonate, alum, oils and unguents, dates, vinegar, thistles, salt, wheat, and beans (the latter used both as a medicinal or nutritional substance and as a unit of measurement).

including ingredients identified as "Egyptian" or "Alexandrian" in his pharmacological works, even if he openly acknowledged that he himself had not tested all of them.[49] Further ingredients abundantly available in Alexandria—and, said Galen, also in the whole of Egypt (καθ' ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον)—included castor oil (κίκινον), oil of radishes (ῥαφάνινον), and mustard oil (σινάπινον).[50] He also recommended the juice of Alexandrian reed (κάλαμος), boiled with garlic and very harsh vinegar, as a mouth rinse to treat toothaches,[51] Alexandrian mustard (σίνηπι, νᾶπυ) as an ingredient in drugs for affections of the spleen,[52] and "dried burnt Alexandrian bread" as an ingredient in an enema used to treat dysentery.[53] Galen further mentioned Alexandrian μαλαβάθρον (leaf or oil of Cinnamomum Tamala?) as an ingredient in a pain-relieving drug (ἄκοπον).[54] Among the substances useful for "thinning" the hair (λεπτυντικὰ τριχῶν) are "so-called black Alexandrian vessels, obviously chopped up and sifted through a fine sieve"; continuous use of the resulting product will make the hair finer, according to Galen's recipe.[55] In his comments on the ingredients of a compound drug used to treat an excess of raw, undigested things in the veins, however, Galen warns readers to be on their guard against an adulterated form of pepper that is prepared primarily in Alexandria.[56]

These references to pharmacological ingredients from Alexandria are not all due to Galen's personal observation, as he sometimes

[49] For such an acknowledgement see, e.g., Gal., *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 2.1 (K 12:510).

[50] *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 3.5 (K 13:631).

[51] *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 5.5 (K 12:857). This recipe is, however, probably derived from Archigenes (ca. 50–113 CE); see K 12:855. On Galen's use of Archigenes's περὶ τῶν κατὰ γένος φαρμάκων as a source see Fabricius 1972, 198–9.

[52] *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 9.2 (K 13:247, 252).

[53] *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 9.5 (K 13:298).

[54] *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 7.13 (K 13:1039). This recipe may be derived from Andromachus the Younger (see K 13:1032), one of Galen's principal pharmacological sources; see Fabricius 1972, 185–189.

[55] *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 1.5 (K 12:457). It is unclear exactly what these "black Alexandrian vessels" are. Judith McKenzie plausibly suggested to me that Galen might be referring to small black steatite dishes, of the kind discussed by Parlasca 1983 (reference kindly supplied by Helen Whitehouse).

[56] *De sanitate tuenda* 4.5.28–33 (K 6:269–70 = *CMG* V.4.2:118–9 Koch). Not content with only warning his readers, Galen here also explained a test for determining whether pepper has been adulterated.

indicated.[57] Thus, when discussing the properties of the leaves and oil of the Alexandrian castor-oil tree (κίκι),[58] he explicitly attributed some—not all—of his knowledge of these properties to a treatise *On Readily Accessible Drugs* by the Alexandrian physician Apollonius Mys (first century BCE), whom he often quoted in his pharmacological works.[59] Apollonius, said Galen, resided in Alexandria and therefore had ample time to determine the property (δύναμις, medicinal power) of this tree. But whether Galen's knowledge of a given drug ingredient from Alexandria was direct or indirect, his frequent identification of ingredients as "Alexandrian" belongs to a long Greek tradition of recognizing Alexandria and Egypt as a rich source of drug ingredients.

Alexandrian pharmacology also confronted Galen with a problem to which he later often referred: the absence of universally standardized weights and measures in Greco-Roman medicine. The lack of standardization, he recognized, could wreak havoc with the accurate transmission of the precise quantities required in the prescription, composition, and use of drugs; the consequences of wrong quantities could be harmful and even fatal to patients. Thus he observed:

> If the word *kotyle* [as a liquid measure] meant the same in all the cities [of Italy and Greece], there would be nothing to investigate. But since there is a great difference in the quantity [signified by *kotyle* in different cities], he [Andromachus] should have said, "I mean the Attic *kotyle*" [ca. 0.273 liter], or "the Alexandrian" [ca. 0.205 liter], or "the Ephesian", or some other [specific] *kotyle*. Most of those who have written about measures and weights say that the *kotyle* recorded by physicians in their pharmacological books consists of nine of the ounces (οὐγγίαι [Latin: *unciae*]) in a Roman *litra* [Latin: *libra*], while others say a *kotyle* was said by them [the medical writers] to consist of twelve ounces, just as that which they customarily name a *litra* [*libra*] of olive oil in Rome.[60]

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[57] See Fabricius, 1972; also above, notes 51, 54, and below, nn. 58–9, 61, for examples of Galen's acknowledgement of his pharmacological sources.

[58] *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 2.1 (K 12:510).

[59] *Ibid.* On Apollonius Mys, a follower of the Alexandrian pioneer Herophilus, see Fabricius 1972, *passim* (especially 180–83); von Staden 1989, 540–54.

[60] *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 6.8 (K 13:893). The last clause refers to the fact that a Roman *libra* consists of twelve *unciae*. On the lack of terminological standardisation in ancient science see Lloyd 1983, 160–66 (with specific reference to anatomy rather than metrology). On measurement in ancient science see Lloyd 1987, 215–284.

In his pharmacological sources Galen probably had found similar complaints about regional quantitative variations in the application of the same metrological terms,[61] and it remained an issue of considerable concern to him in his own writings.

Urbanization and specialization: therapeutics, snakes, and the death penalty

The massive urbanization which Galen witnessed in Alexandria, and later in Rome, prompted him to reflect on the consequences of urbanization for the medical profession. Large-scale urbanization, he concluded, entailed the economic viability of a high degree of professional specialization of a kind he apparently had not witnessed in Asia Minor. Many years later, while practising in Rome, Galen remarked in his treatise *On the Parts of the Medical Techne* that Alexandria and Rome were the only two cities with a population large enough to support numerous different kinds of medical specialists. In fact, he said, in Rome one can find specialists for every part of the body and for each aspect of every disease, and Alexandria is not very different in this respect:

> You should not be surprised if, in a great city, the broad scope of the art of medicine causes it to be divided into this large number of sections. For due to its extent, not all doctors can master medicine in its entirety, and in this city, because of its size, all of [the narrow specialists] can make a living. In a small town this obviously is not possible for oculists and for those [specialists] who [only] cut hernias. As far as Rome and Alexandria are concerned, [however,] the number of their inhabitants ensures a livelihood for those who practise any single branch of medicine in those cities, not to mention a livelihood for those who have a broader medical competence than that.[62]

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[61] See, e.g., the explanation of the number of ounces in an Alexandrian *mna*, which almost certainly was copied from Asclepiades Pharmakion (complete with its intact reference to Asclepiades's teacher Lucius as ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγητὴς Λεύκιος!): *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 2.17 (K 13:539; cf. 648). On Galen's use of Asclepiades's pharmacological works see Fabricius 1972, 192–198. On Lucius see Kind 1927.

[62] *De partibus artis medicativae* 2.3 (*CMG*, Supplementum Orientale 2:29), translated by Malcolm Lyons from a ninth-century Arabic translation by unain ibn Is q and his son Is q. Niccolò da Reggio's fourteenth-century Latin translation (based on a Greek manuscript which is no longer extant) deviates partly from the Arabic version; see Hermann Schöne's edition, reprinted in *CMG*, Suppl. Orientale 2:120.29–34.

For all of Galen's recognition that a high degree of medical specialization was economically possible in cities as large as Alexandria and Rome, his conception of the medical *techne* and, in particular, of the relation between its many parts did not render him very sympathetic to narrow specialization.[63] The best practitioner, he believed, would have not only a mastery of the *techne* as a whole but also a thorough grasp of the relations between all its numerous parts.

Galen took a keen interest in other aspects of the Alexandrians' medical practices, including their surgical interventions.[64] He singled out the efficacy of certain local therapeutic traditions, while taking a dim view of others. In *On Affected Parts*, for example, he says he learned in Alexandria that amputation can be an effective treatment for potentially fatal viper-bites:

> When I was in Alexandria (ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὄντος μου), a peasant was bitten on one of his fingers by a viper not far from the city. With a very tight, strong tourniquet he ligated the root of this finger next to the metacarpal bone. And, running to the city to his usual doctor, he presented his entire finger to be amputated from the metacarpal joint, in the hope that he would not suffer anything [fatal] as a consequence of this [snake-bite]. He in fact succeeded in accordance with his hope, for his life was saved without any other treatment.[65]

The venomous snakes of Alexandria and its environs held a particular fascination for Galen. After vividly recounting Cleopatra's death, for example, he claimed personally to have observed the following "humane" method of execution used in Alexandria:

> And in great Alexandria I in fact often witnessed (καὶ πολλάκις γὰρ ἐθεασάμην ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ) the speed of the death that comes about because of asps. For, whenever they want to put someone to death humanely and quickly—someone who has been sentenced by law to this punishment—they throw the venomous creature [the asp] against his chest and make him walk around a bit. And in this way they quickly do away with the person.[66]

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[63] See von Staden, 2002, 19–45.

[64] On the illustrious history of Alexandrian surgery in the Hellenistic period see Michler 1968.

[65] Gal., *De locis affectis* 3.11 (K 8:197). It is possible but not certain that Galen's immediately following accounts of other cases he observed—of a viper victim who recovered by having his finger amputated and by drinking an antidote made from vipers, and of a victim who amputated his own finger after being bitten—also refer to his time in Alexandria.

[66] *Ad Pisonem de theriaca* 8 (K 14:237). The authenticity of this work has been

Numerous other remarks about Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandria are scattered throughout the Galenic corpus. These range from comments on the differences between the longest and shortest days and nights in Alexandria and in Rome[67] to the claim that there were no pseudepigrapha until after the death of Alexander the Great, when ambitious kings in Alexandria and Pergamum started acquiring ancient books: this royal ambition provided the unscrupulous with a financial incentive for falsely ascribing texts to famous ancient writers.[68] More relevant for present purposes are, however, Galen's comments on the "elite" medicine he found in Alexandria.

Alexandria's medical elite: anatomy, Methodism, exegesis

When Galen arrived in Alexandria in the autumn[69] of 151, 152 or 153, he was eager to study anatomy either with Numisianus or, more likely, with one of Numisianus's former pupils.[70] Soon he was introduced to Numisianus's son Heraclianus, a prominent figure in Alexandria, by "a man who belonged to the circle of [Heraclianus's] most intimate friends."[71] In the course of Galen's Alexandrian sojourn his attitude to Heraclianus seems to have changed considerably. In a positive vein, Galen remarked:

> [Heraclianus] was one of those who, in the days of my residence in Alexandria, had given me the most hospitable reception . . .[72] He was not one of those who have no knowledge or understanding of anatomy.

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disputed; I provisionally favor classifying it as genuine, but a thorough analysis, based on a critical edition, remains a desideratum.

[67] *De sanitate tuenda* 6.5.10 (K 6:405 = *CMG* V.4.2:178 Koch).

[68] *In Hippocratis De natura hominis comment.* 1.44 (K 15:105 = *CMG* V.9.1:55 Mewaldt).

[69] *De tremore, palpitatione convulsione et rigore* 7 (K 7:635): εἶδον δὲ καὶ νεανίσκῳ τινὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων συμφοιτητῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γινόμενον, ἡνίκα πρῶτον εἰς αὐτὴν κατεπλεύσαμεν ἐν ἀρχῇ φθινοπώρου. See above, pp. 189–190, for the context.

[70] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.1 (K 2:217–8 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3). See below, nn. 109–112, on this passage.

[71] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 183 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040). The quotations (nn. 71–74) from Book 14 of this treatise are all based on Simon's, Duckworth's, and Garofalo's renderings (into German, English, and Italian, respectively) of the mediaeval Arabic translation; the Greek original of Books 9.6–15.8 is no longer extant.

[72] *Ibid.*

> Rather, he had views on anatomical science which he explained to me . . .[73] I constantly rendered [Heraclianus] the most zealous service, so much so that, contrary to my first impression, I almost admired him to adulation . . .[74]

If the recent emendation of "Ailianos" to "Herakleianos" in Galen's *On the Anatomy of Muscles*[75] is accepted, we would have further evidence that Galen did not have an invariably negative view of Heraclianus.[76] He acknowledged that Heraclianus/Aelianos was highly regarded for his dissection of the muscles, that he wrote a useful

[73] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 184 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040).

[74] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 183–4 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040).

[75] *De musculorum dissectione*, preface and chapters 6, 23 (K 18B:926.6, 926.10, 927.7, 935.13, 986.14 = Dietz 1832, chapters 1, 7, 22 [pp. 2.2–3, 2.7, 2.16, 11.19, 57.15]). On the emendation see below, n. 76.

[76] Nutton 1993, 18, proposed this emendation only with reference to the first four occurrences of "Ailianos" (see previous note), but it would hardly make sense to do so without similarly emending the fifth instance (K 18B:986.14), where Galen refers to the same person as at the beginning of his treatise. Nutton 1998 again reads "Herakleianos" for "Ailianos," but without indicating that it is an emendation. The text was not printed in the Aldine editio princeps of Galen's works in Greek (Venice, 1525) nor in the Basel edition of 1538. It likewise was not included in the earliest Latin editions of Galen's collected works, such as those of D. Bonardus (Venice, 1490) and Ianus Cornarius (Basel, 1549). But A. Gadaldino's Latin translation of *De musculorum dissectione* was printed repeatedly in the sixteenth century, starting in 1550 (see Durling 1961, no. 70), e.g., in the influential Juntine edition of 1565 (Primae classis Libri, 2:44–52), with an annotation in the table of contents indicating that the Greek original was lost (but for extant Greek MSS see Diels 1905, 108–109). Gadaldino's translation reads "Aelianus" (not "Heraclianus"), and so does J.B. Rasarius's Latin translation (1562–3). In the fourth volume of René Chartier's edition (Paris, 1639) only Oribasius's extensive excerpts from the treatise were published (4:250–269); these do not include any references to either Aelianus or Heraclianus. Wellmann 1893 consistently read "Ailianos" in *De musc. diss.* and identified this anatomist with Aelianus Meccius (Maecius?), a pharmacologist who in the pseudo-Galenic *De theriaca ad Pamphilianum* (K 14:298–9) is highly praised as Galen's oldest teacher, exceptional for his ἐμπειρίᾳ τέχνης and ἐπεικίᾳ γνώμης. See also Gero 1990, 388–9 and n. 57, for Arabic evidence for Aelianus as the name of one of Galen's teachers; Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 91 n. 135. Two years after Kühn published the text (K 18B:926–1026), Dietz 1832 published a critical edition based on a collation of three Greek manuscripts (Ambrosianus Q 87 Suppl., Scorialensis T.III.7, Parisinus 2219), on Gadaldino's translation, and on the excerpts in Oribasius; the three MSS uniformly read "Ailianos" (Dietz 1832, 2.2–3, 2.7, 2.16, 11.19, 57.15). Nutton does not mention Dietz' evidence. On the Arabic translation see Ullmann 1970, 40 (no. 13). A resolution of the Aelianus/Heraclianus issue will have to await Ivan Garofalo's new critical edition (Paris: Les Belles Lettres) of *De musculorum dissectione*.

epitome of Numisianus's anatomical works, that in his description of the muscles he dealt only with things that are visible, and that he considered the pterygoidei mediales in the jaw (the "third pair" of muscles) as separate from the temporal muscles.[77] But Galen's praise was not unqualified: he points out that Heraclianus/Aelianus failed to demonstrate the muscles that move the radius (in the forearm).[78]

Reserve is also on display in Galen's remark that "not even Heraclianus" added any new anatomical discovery to those made in the third century BCE by Herophilus and Eudemus.[79] Furthermore, the relationship between Galen and Heraclianus appears to have become irreparably strained over the issue of access to Numisianus's unpublished writings. Already during his studies in Asia Minor Galen had heard much about Numisianus's brilliance but had been thwarted in his efforts to learn more about the famous Alexandrian's theories. For one thing, Numisianus's anatomical writings were not circulating freely and very few of his commentaries on Hippocratic texts had been preserved.[80] For another, those who were familiar with Numisianus's teachings would not reveal them to Galen. Even about his own teacher Pelops, whom he greatly admired, Galen complained that "Pelops, who was the principal pupil of Numisianus, for his part too did not expound [Numisianus's works], nor did he show any of them to anyone. For he [Pelops] preferred that certain theories, as yet unknown, should be attributed to himself."[81]

Heraclianus had inherited his father's coveted writings and guarded them jealously. Despite Galen's "zealous service" to, and adulation of, Heraclianus in Alexandria, he discovered to his bitter disappointment that "none of that availed to procure for me any of the writings of Numisianus, which had not yet been shown to many;

[77] See above, n. 75, for the relevant references.

[78] *De musculorum dissectione* 23 (K 18B:986 = Dietz 1832, ch. 22, p. 57.15).

[79] *In Hippocratis De natura hominis comment.* 2.6 (K 15:136 = *CMG* V.9.1:70.5–9. Mewaldt = von Staden 1989 [1994], 191–2, fr. 69). See below, n. 89–90.

[80] *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K 19.57 = *Scripta minora* 2:86–7 Müller): καὶ τῶν ἐξηγησαμένων δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τά τε τοῦ διδασκάλου Πέλοπος ⟨καὶ⟩ [εἰ] πού τι καὶ τῶν Νουμισανοῦ [ἔχοιεν]· ἔστι δ᾽ ὀλίγα τὰ διασῳζόμενα.

[81] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:232, 2.167–8 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 184 = Garofalo 1991:1040–1). Simon and Duckworth understood this passage to say that Pelops did not expound or publish Numisianus's doctrines, but Garofalo 1991:1041 interprets the relevant sentence as referring to Heraclianus.

you see, Heraclianus used to put off giving me these books, and he was continually hinting at reasons for this delay."[82] Galen never doubted that Numisianus's books on anatomy existed in Alexandria, as little as he doubted that Numisianus had displayed his erudition in Alexandria itself:

> Quintus, who at the time of Hadrian resided in Rome, had become widely known and had gained a not inconsiderable reputation through anatomical perspicacity. But he composed no writings on anatomy, whereas Marinus did [write anatomical books] *and so did Numisianus*, who in Marinus's lifetime had already become pre-eminent *in Alexandria.* [Numisianus] was a man of profound learning, who made excellent observations on dissection. He wrote many books, although these did not reach a wide public while he was still alive.[83]

Galen harboured no illusions about Heraclianus's motives for preventing him and others from discovering the contents of Numisianus's writings: ". . . after Numisianus's death, since his son Heraclianus wished to secure himself in the sole possession of all that his father left, none of these books was shown to anyone."[84] Heraclianus also seems to have ensured that, even after his own death, access to his illustrious father's anatomical learning would be denied: "Then, they say, when Heraclianus also was on the point of death, he destroyed them [*scil.* Numisianus's books on anatomy] by fire . . .".[85]

Galen thus remained permanently frustrated in his attempts to fulfill one of the major expectations he had had of his journey to Alexandria, namely, to achieve a first-hand, detailed knowledge of the doctrines and methods of the most recent giant of Alexandrian anatomy. Trying to circumvent the stubborn secretiveness that his teacher Pelops had maintained in Smyrna with reference to Numisianus's anatomical theories, Galen tried to go directly to the source, first in Corinth and then in Alexandria, only to find himself confronted by Numisianus's equally stubborn and evasive, although well informed, son. In both cases—Pelops and Heraclianus—Galen detected

[82] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 184 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040).
[83] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1961, 183 = Garofalo 1991:1039–40).
[84] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1961, 183 = Garofalo 1991:1040).
[85] *Ibid.*

nothing but bad motives at work, as he did whenever he thought he had been slighted, obstructed, criticised or seriously questioned.

It is a striking fact, noted by several modern scholars, that Galen in his voluminous extant writings never mentions a single anatomical discovery or doctrine of Numisianus, despite acknowledging the latter's excellent reputation in anatomy.[86] Might this be the vengeful silence of the slighted? Or the frustrated silence of a young upstart, a foreign researcher whose most important sources had been rendered inaccessible by the intransigence of an older local scholar in Alexandria? After all, possibly through Heraclianus's summary of Numisianus's anatomical teachings,[87] and probably to some extent through his teacher Pelops, a pupil of Numisianus, Galen had at least a modicum of acquaintance with the revered Numisianus's methods, discoveries, and doctrines.

Galen may have been thwarted in one of his principal purposes for going to Alexandria, yet Alexandra had a further lure for the aspiring anatomist. It was the only place, he suggested, where doctors used human skeletons to teach their students the anatomy of the bones:

> Let it become your task and studious undertaking not only to learn thoroughly and accurately the form of each of the bones from a book, but also to make yourself an attentive personal observer, with your own eyes, of the bones of human beings. This can be done quite easily in Alexandria, so that doctors in that place provide instruction about human bones to their students with the aid of personal observation [of human skeletons]. For this very reason alone you too should try to get to Alexandria, even if there were no other reason [to go there].[88]

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[86] See Smith 1979, 69; Nutton 1987, 237; *id.* 1993, 16; Grmek and Gourevitch 1988, 50.

[87] "Possibly," because this depends on whether one accepts Nutton's emendation (n. 76 above) Ἡρακλειανός for Αἰλιανός in Gal., *De musculorum dissectione*, praef. (K 18B:926.10 = Dietz 1832, 2.7–11).

[88] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.2 (K 2:220–1 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:7): ἔργον δέ σοι γενέσθω καὶ σπούδασμα, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου τὴν ἰδέαν ἑκάστου τῶν ὀστῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων σύντονον αὐτόπτην αὐτὸν ἐργάσασθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ὀστῶν. ἔστι δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μὲν τοῦτο πάνυ ῥᾴδιον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτῶν τοῖς φοιτηταῖς οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ἰατροὶ μετὰ τῆς αὐτοψίας πορίζονται. καὶ πειρατέον ἐστί σοι, κἂν μὴ δι' ἄλλο τι, διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενέσθαι. Galen (*ibid.*) adds the qualifier, however, that even for a person unable to attain the goal of getting to Alexandria, there remains the possibil-

Galen was far from impressed, however, with the scientific harvest yielded by the method of investigation used in Alexandria by anatomists such as Heraclianus. As indicated above, in his commentary on the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of a Human Being*, Galen contrasted the productive originality of Herophilus and Eudemus, both of whom practised in early Ptolemaic Alexandria, with the failure of Heraclianus to make any anatomical discoveries:

> Why is it then necessary to speak further about those, such as Herophilus and Eudemus,[89] who after them [*scil.* after the earliest physicians who explored vascular anatomy, including Diocles and Praxagoras] brought about the greatest increase in anatomical knowledge? With reference to their method of investigation no one until both Marinus and Numisianus—not even Heraclianus, whom I consulted in Alexandria in no casual manner—has yet made any additional discovery.[90]

This passage is not without its puzzles. The phrase "up to [*or*: until] Marinus as well as Numisianus" (ἄχρι Μαρίνου τε καὶ Νουμισιανοῦ) has been understood to mean that Marinus and Numisianus were the first anatomists since the third century BCE to make anatomical discoveries comparable to those of the great Herophilus.[91] Galen

ity of occasional chance observations of human bones, for example, when a grave is broken open by a flood or when birds have denuded the skeleton of a brigand killed by a traveller next to a road.

[89] The Eudemus to whom Galen here refers is the anatomist still well known in the first and second centuries CE. His date is uncertain, but he often is mentioned with fourth- and third-century BCE physicians, notably with Herophilus. See, e.g., Soranus, *Gynaecia* 1.17.57.4 (*CMG* IV:42 Ilberg) = 1.19.32–39 (1:56–7 Burguière/Gourevitch/Malinas); Gal., *In Hippocratis Aphorismos commentarii* 6.1 (K 18A:7); *id., In Hippocratis De natura hominis commentarii* 2.6 (K15:134 = *CMG* V.9.1:69 Mewaldt); *id., De semine* 2.6.13 (K 4:646 = *CMG* V.3.1:200–1 De Lacy); *id., De locis affectis* 3.14 (K 8:212). See also Rufus of Ephesus, *De nominatione partium hominis* 73, 143 (Daremberg/Ruelle 1879, 142, 152); Gal., *De usu partium* 3.8 (K 3:203 = Helmreich 1:148). In Gal., *De dissectione uteri* 3.2 (K 2:890 = *CMG* V.2.1:38.6 Nickel, with app. crit.), most of the MSS read "Euenor," but in the margin of cod. Parisinus gr. 2165 (sixteenth century) and in the first printed edition (Venice, 1490) of Niccolò da Reggio's fourteenth-century Latin translation one finds "Eudemus."

[90] *In Hippocratis De natura hominis commentaria* 2.6 (K 15.136 = *CMG* V.9.1:70 Mewaldt): τί ⟨δὲ⟩ δεῖ λέγειν ἔτι περὶ τῶν μετὰ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐξησάντων τὴν ἀνατομικὴν θεωρίαν, ὡς Ἡρόφιλός τε καὶ Εὔδημος, οἷς εἰς τὴν μέθοδον οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς προσεξεῦρεν οὐδὲν ἄχρι Μαρίνου τε καὶ Νουμισιανοῦ, οὐδ' Ἡρακλειανός, ᾧ συνεγενόμην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ. See Grmek and Gourevitch 1994: 1493.

[91] E.g., Grmek and Gourevitch 1988, 50: "Numisianus était donc un des principaux protagonistes du renouveau des recherches anatomiques à Alexandrie. Selon Galien, il est de ceux très rares, qui ont fait vraiment progresser l'anatomie."

expresses himself in more qualified terms, however: it is "with reference to method" (or "way of investigation," εἰς τὴν μέθοδον) that "no one until Marinus and Numisianus made any additional discovery." As noted above, however, nowhere in his extant works did Galen report any methodological or investigative innovations or discoveries attributable to Numisianus. It also should not be overlooked that Galen here cited Herophilus and Eudemus—not Marinus and Numisianus—as examples of those "who brought the greatest increase in anatomical knowledge" (τῶν τὸ πλεῖστον αὐξησάντων τὴν ἀνατομικὴν θεωρίαν) after the early explorers of the vascular system, such as Diocles, Praxagoras, Plistonicus, and Euryphon.

Galen was not loathe to present himself as a scientific "grandson" of both Numisianus and Marinus: these two famous anatomists had many pupils, he says, but Numisianus's most distinguished student was "my teacher Pelops," while Marinus's star pupil was Quintus, who in turn instructed at least three of Galen's teachers: Satyrus, Aeficianus and Pelops.[92] Despite Galen's criticisms of Marinus's famous anatomical treatise as obscure, incomplete, and mistaken in certain respects, he obviously admired him as the best anatomist of the earlier second century CE,[93] and in one of his anatomical works he adopted the sequence of topics used in Marinus's chef-d'oeuvre.[94] But once Galen had seen Heraclianus and other anatomists in action in Alexandria, he concluded that his Alexandrian contemporaries had in fact not advanced beyond their early Ptolemaic precursors. Furthermore, he never indicates that the great Marinus lived or practised in Alexandria (see below).[95]

[92] *In Hippocratis De natura hominis commentaria* 2.6 (K 15:136 = *CMG* V.9.1:70 Mewaldt): μαθηταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε (*scil.* Μαρίνου τε καὶ Νουμισιανοῦ) πολλοί τε καὶ ἄλλοι, διαπρεπέστατοι δὲ Νουμισιανοῦ μὲν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν Πέλοψ, Μαρίνου δὲ Κόϊντος. See below, pp. 209–13, on the pupils of Quintus and Numisianus.

[93] E.g., Gal., *De semine* 2.6.14–21 (K 4:656–8: *CMG* V.3.1:200–2 De Lacy); *De anatomicis administrationibus* 2.1, 7.10 (K 2:280–3, 621 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:71–74, 2:444–5); *De neruorum dissectione* 5 (K 2:837.10–11); *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 8.1.6 (K 5:650 = *CMG* V.4.1.2:480 De Lacy); *De musculorum dissectione*, praef. (K 18B:926 = Dietz 1832, 1.5). See also above, nn. 15, 90, and below, n. 120

[94] *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.3 (K 2.234 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:23): αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐγχειρήσεις ἀνατομικαὶ διὰ δυοῖν ὑπομνημάτων ἐγεγόνεισαν, ἔχουσαι τάξιν τὴν αὐτὴν ταῖς Μαρίνου, καὶ μέμνημαί γ' ἐκείνων ἐν τῇ περὶ χρείας μορίων πραγματείᾳ.

[95] The occasional modern claim that Galen became a student of Marinus in Alexandria is based on a questionable interpretation of a dubious variant in the manuscript tradition of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates's *On the Nature of a*

This is not to say that Galen was not influenced by Alexandrian anatomy. But with the important exception of the distinctively Alexandrian opportunity to do a direct study of the human skeleton, the Alexandrian anatomical influence paradoxically seems to have flowed principally *not* through his direct exposure to anatomical instruction in Alexandria, but through the mediation of one or more—but not all (see below)—of his teachers in Asia Minor and through his own extensive reading in early and late anatomical sources.

The circle of learned physicians that gathered around Heraclianus was not the only medical group with whom Galen personally interacted in Egypt. In Alexandria he also became acquainted with Julian, a prominent Alexandrian member of the Methodist "school" of medicine. Many years later he referred to his encounter with Julian as follows in a critique of the Methodists (in particular of their failure to produce a satisfactory definition of health and disease):

> One could mention the things said by . . . nonsensical Olympicus, and along with him by [his fellow-Methodists] Apollonides, Soranus, and Julian, who is still alive. I have in fact met Julian, so that I might learn lengthy nonsense from the voice of a living person; but not even he could state just what an "affection" and a "disease" were. And there is very strong evidence of this. You see, although more than twenty years have already passed since I was with Julian in Alexandria, he has written introduction upon introduction [to medicine], for he changes and reshapes them again and again, never being satisfied with what he has written, yet in none of them does he dare to state just what "disease" is, and, I would have you know,[96] he does not give any account pertaining to this in them . . . Once when I questioned him, he gave such a lengthy and unclear exposition that I did not understand anything of what he said and was compelled to say at least this much to him: that I thought he differed from Olympicus, even though Olympicus was his grandfather in teaching (you see, this Julian is a pupil of Apollonides of Cyprus, who was a student of Olympicus); Olympicus, as I have said, actually dared to define both health and disease . . .[97]

Human Being (see n. 92); cod. Reginensis gr. 173 [fifteenth century] reads μαρίνος, but a learned hand (R^2) later corrected this to the reading of the other extant MSS, Μαρίνου. On R and R^2 see Mewaldt, *ibid.*, pp. XI–XII. See also Grmek and Gourevitch 1994, 1493; Moraux 1985, 60–61; below, pp. 209–12.

[96] On καίτοι in this sense see Denniston 1954, 555–6; on καίτοι γε *ibid.*, 564.

[97] Gal., *De methodo medendi* 1.7.5–7 (K 10:53–54). See Hankinson 1991, 144–6; Nutton 1993, 12 nn. 3, 20. This passage leaves little doubt that Galen had adversarial encounters with Julian in Alexandria, but it is not clear that Galen actually "sat at

It did not take Galen long to develop a life-long contempt for Julian and other Methodists, at whom he hurled even more abusive rhetoric than at major theoretical adversaries such as Erasistratus.[98]

In other writings too Galen associated Julian with Alexandria. In a sharply polemical treatise devoted primarily to an attack on a passage in Julian's elaborate work on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*, for example, Galen remarked:

> If he [Thessalus the Methodist] had learned the *techne*, he would not have dared to contradict the truth, except if he were someone altogether shameless, such as our contemporary Julian, who is in Alexandria. They say there are forty-eight books by him against Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, from which I have just selected the second, in which he says that the following Aphorism is, as he believes, false . . .[99]

Subsequently, having quoted passages from Julian's lost works *Philon* (a treatise on Methodism) and *On Affections of the Soul and of the Body*, Galen scornfully observed that the Methodists' view that all morbid conditions can be reduced to two or three phenomenally evident states or "communities"—stricture, flux, and, according to some Methodists, a mixture of the two—is contradicted by all great thinkers, such as Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Chrysippus. Julian invoked these philosophers in support of his Methodism, but all of them, said Galen, in fact subscribed to the traditional theory that health and disease depend on a balance or imbalance of four qualities (hot, cold, dry, moist) and of four humors:

> But Julian has not even read any book by any of the authors I have mentioned, nor does he have any understanding at all of who agrees and disagrees . . . And if one wished to select passages [about the four qualities and humors] merely from the three authors I have just mentioned [*scil.* Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Chrysippus], one will fill more

the feet of Julian" (*sic* Nutton 1993, 20). Nothing in Galen's statement appears to imply that Galen—even briefly—attended upon Julian as a disciple or follower.

[98] Erasistratus and his followers were a principal target of several of Galen's extant treatises, including *De facultatibus naturalibus*, *De causis procatarcticis, De uenae sectione aduersus Erasistratum, De uenae sectione aduersus Erasistrateos Romae degents, An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur,* and *De usu respirationis*. Several of Galen's lost works also took aim at Erasistratus and his followers; see *De libris propriis* 1, 4, and 7 (K 19:13–15, 30–31, 37–38 = *Scripta minora* 2:94–96, 109, 114 Müller).

[99] *Aduersus ea quae Iuliano in Hippocratis Aphorismos enuntiata sunt* 1.5–6 (K 18A:248 = *CMG* V.10.3:34.5–10 Wenkebach). The Aphorism in question is Hp., *Aph.* 1.2 (Littré 1839–61, 4:458 = Jones et al., 1923–1995, 4:98).

> than a few books. But if someone who has as much leisure as Julian does *in Alexandria* wished to select passages from each of all the other Stoics and Peripatetics as well, he would fill a whole library [that would demonstrate the validity of Galen's refutation].[100]

Julian was not the only Alexandrian commentator on Hippocratic writings whom Galen took to task. He also ridiculed the "Hippocratic" Metrodorus of Alexandria, who appears to have written commentaries on *Epidemics II, III, VI* and perhaps on other Hippocratic treatises as well: "Even though Sabinus, Metrodorus, and their followers seem to have been more accurate than previous Hippocratics, they too nevertheless often appear to interpret Hippocrates quite badly."[101] In his commentary on *Epidemics II* Galen holds Metrodorus's teaching responsible for the professional misfortune that befell the Pergamene physician Philistion, who had studied with Metrodorus in Alexandria. As a consequence of a misguided therapy based on a literal, false interpretation—inspired by Metrodorus's teaching—of an interpolated passage (thus Galen) in *Epidemics II*, Philistion lost his reputation, his patients, and his livelihood.[102] Elsewhere, Galen resorts to an ancient topos to excoriate the contemporary medical "sophists" of Alexandria: they are more interested in dazzling audiences through their teachings and interpretations than in actually curing patients.[103]

Another second-century Alexandrian of whom Galen took a dim view was the *gymnastes* Theon, author of a work in four books on

[100] Gal., *Aduersus Iulianum* 4.2 and 4.5 (K 18A:258, 260 = *CMG* V.10.3:42, 43–4 Wenkebach).

[101] Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum III. comment.* 1.4 (K 17A:508 = *CMG* V.10.2.1: 17.22–25 Wenkebach); Galen immediately proceeds to offer an example of such a "bad interpretation." See also *ibid.*, pp. 11.2 (appar.), 23.28, 25.9.

[102] Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment.* 6 (*CMG* V.10.1:401–404 Pfaff). On Metrodorus see also *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 1.29 (K 17A:877 = *CMG* V.10.2.2:46–47 Wenkebach); Nutton 1993, 22; Lloyd 1993, 129 n. 14; Manetti and Roselli 1994, 1549, 1612.

[103] Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment. 6* (*CMG* V.10.1:400.4–7 Pfaff); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum III. comment.* 1.4 (K 17A:499–500 = *CMG* V.10.2.1:12.15–26 Wenkebach); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 1.2 (K 17A:806 = *CMG* V.10.2.2:10.11–16 Wenkebach). It should not be overlooked, however, that many, if not most, of Galen's criticisms of second-century commentators concern those who are *not* attested to have lived in Alexandria: Sabinus, Lycus of Macedonia, Satyrus, Aeficianus, the Empiricists Epicurus of Pergamum and Philip, Marinus (see below), Quintus, Rufus of Samaria (who compiled an epitome of all commentaries on *Epidemics VI*), and Stratonicus. On these commentators (some of whom conducted their exegeses only orally) see Manetti and Roselli, 1994; Ihm 2001.

physical exercise, to whom Lucian also refers.[104] It seems likely that Galen had at least one disagreeable personal encounter with Theon.[105] Whether he first met Theon in Alexandria or in Rome is unclear, but in two treatises—*De sanitate tuenda* and *Thrasybulus*—Galen leaves no doubt that he strongly disapproved of Theon's attempt to improve on Hippocratic medicine and, in particular, on Hippocrates's view of massage.[106] Galen likewise criticised Theon for presenting a four-part program of physical exercises—preparatory exercises, exercises designed for specific parts, comprehensive or "completing" exercises, and recuperative exercises—that are relevant only for the maintenance of the useless, deplorable bodies of professional athletes, without any regard for the entire *techne* required by all non-athletes.[107] Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, Philotimus, and Herophilus, by contrast, had knowledge of the whole *techne* concerning the body.[108]

Before turning to the difficult question whether, in Galen's view, there was a second-century Alexandrian "school" of anatomy and, if so, who its representatives were, it will be useful to examine the evidence concerning Galen's pursuit of Numisianus. The most significant direct evidence is a brief passage in Galen's principal anatomical treatise, *On Anatomical Procedures*. The passage is transmitted both in Greek [(a) below] and in a ninth-century Arabic translation [(b) below]. According to the only Greek manuscript which preserves the relevant text,[109] Galen said:

> (a) "I wrote it [*De thoracis et pulmonis motu I–III*, no longer extant] while I was still residing in Smyrna for the sake of [studying with] Pelops,

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[104] Gal., *De sanitate tuenda* 3.3.6–8 (K 6:182 = *CMG* V.4.2:80 Koch): . . . κάλλιστα μεταχειρισάμενος ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν Θέων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς· τέτταρα γὰρ οὗτος ἔγραψε βιβλία περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γυμνασίων . . . See also 2.3.19–24, 2.3.48–50, 3.8.24–29 (K 6:96–7, 103, 208–9 = *CMG* V.4.2:44, 46–7, 92 Koch); Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 35 (where Theon is introduced as a trainer of athletes, along with Iccus and Herodicus); Jüthner 1909, 16–22; Deichgräber 1934, 2080–82.

[105] Gal., *Thrasybulus* 46 (K 5:895 = *Scripta Minora* 3:97 Helmreich), describes the encounter, but without mentioning Theon by name. Jüthner 1909, 16–17, however, plausibly identified the αὐτοδίδακτος ἐκεῖνος γυμναστής (scornfully so described by Galen) with Theon; so too Deichgräber 1934, 2080.

[106] *Thrasybulus* 47 (K 5:897–8 = *Scripta Minora* 3:99–100); *De sanitate tuenda* 2.3.18–2.4.59 (K 6:96–119 = *CMG* V.4.2:44–53 Koch).

[107] *Thrasybulus* 47 (K 5:898 = *Scripta Minora* 3:99–100).

[108] *Ibid.*

[109] Cod. Parisinus gr. 1849 of the third quarter of the twelfth century, in the hand of the famous scribe Iohannicius. See Wilson 1983; id. 1986; Garafolo 1986–2000, 1:x–xi, 2:ix.

> who had become my second teacher after Satyrus, Quintus's pupil, at a time when I myself had not yet *said* anything important and new. But later, having been in Corinth for the sake of [studying with] Numisianus—who himself was *the most famous* of Quintus's pupils—and in Alexandria as well as some other localities, in which I had learned that *Quintus's famous pupil Numisianus* was residing, I then returned to my home country . . ."[110]

The mediaeval Arabic translation of this passage, however, apparently was based on a different Greek manuscript tradition (no longer extant):

> (b) I wrote it while I was still residing in Smyrna for the sake of [studying with] Pelops, who had become my second teacher after Satyrus, Quintus's pupil, at a time when I myself had not yet *discovered* anything important and new. But later, having been in Corinth for the sake of [studying with] Numisianus—who himself also was *a famous* pupil of Quintus's—and in Alexandria as well as some other localities, in which I had learned that *a famous pupil of Quintus or of Numisianus* was residing, I then returned to my home country . . .[111]

Ivan Garofalo and Vivian Nutton find (b) more plausible than (a), and they interpret (b) to imply that Numisianus had died before Galen ever reached Alexandria, whereas Mirko Grmek and Danielle Gourevitch express themselves more guardedly.[112] To summarize the differences and similarities between the two versions: in both (a) and (b) Galen distinguished between four places in which he had spent time (διατρίβων, γενόμενος) in his twenties away from his hometown

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[110] Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.1 (K 2.217–8 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3.16–22; my text and translation follow Parisinus gr. 1849 [P], with italics added in the translation above to indicate P's deviations from the Arabic translation): διατρίβων γὰρ ἔτι κατὰ Σμύρναν ἕνεκα Πέλοπος, ὃς δεύτερος μοι διδάσκαλος ἐγένετο μετὰ Σάτυρον τὸν Κοΐντου μαθητήν, ἔγραψα μὲν αὐτά, μηδὲν μήπω μέγα καὶ καινὸν εἰρηκώς [εὑρηκώς Caius Cornarius; see n. 111]. ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν Νουμισιανοῦ χάριν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνδοξότατος ἦν τῶν Κοΐντου μαθητῶν, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ καί τισιν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι γενόμενος, ἐν οἷς ἐπυνθανόμην Κοΐντου μαθητὴν ἔνδοξον Νουμισιανὸν διατρίβειν, εἶτ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα . . .

[111] See Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3–4 with critical apparatus (italics indicate deviations from P). Prompted by the Arabic translation, Garofalo emends εἰρηκώς (P) to εὑρηκώς—a reading also adopted by Caius (ed. 1544) and by J. Cornarius (in his copy of the Aldine edition of 1525)—and reads ἔνδοξός τις (for P's ἐνδοξότατος) and ἢ Νουμισιανοῦ (for P's Νουμισιανὸν); see previous note.

[112] Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3 (app. crit.); Nutton 1987, 237; Grmek and Gourevitch 1988, 50–51, 57 (n. 50); Nutton 1993, 14 n. 12; Grmek and Gourevitch 1994, 1514–5.

Pergamum, before returning to Pergamum at the age of twenty-eight: (1) Smyrna, for the sake of Pelops [according to both (a) and (b)]; (2) Corinth, for the sake of Numisianus [(a) and (b)], who was either Quintus's *most* famous student [thus (a)] or merely *a* famous student of Quintus [so (b)]; (3) Alexandria [(a) and (b)]; and (4) some other, unspecified *éthn* [(a) and (b)], where Galen believed that either (i) Quintus's famous student Numisianus could be found [thus (a)] or (ii) that an unnamed famous pupil of Quintus *or* of Numisianus was residing or visiting [thus (b)].

Neither (a) nor (b) says anything about the time and place of Numisianus's death. The most telling evidence about the time of Numisianus's death arguably is not this passage, in either of its versions, but rather a Galenic silence: nowhere in his many scattered remarks about his Alexandrian sojourn does Galen mention personally encountering Numisianus, whereas he does refer to his encounters in Alexandria with Numisianus's son Heraclianus in the period after Numisianus's death (see above). But arguments from silence are notoriously insidious, in this case perhaps particularly so, given that some Galenic treatises that may have offered evidence are no longer extant. Galen also is silent about the identity of the vaguely introduced "other *ethne*" he visited in search of the expertise either of Numisianus himself [thus (a)] or of a famous pupil of Numisianus [thus (b)]. If (b) is accepted, he likewise is silent about the identity of the "famous pupil of Quintus *or* of Numisianus" in search of whom he made his perilous journey. Indeed, "other *ethne*" and "*a* famous pupil of Q. *or* N." are so evasively indefinite as to render the Arabic version no less suspect than the Greek: a quest entailing extensive, perilous travels is unlikely to have had destinations so vague that Galen never identified them in his numerous autobiographical remarks. The μὲν . . . δὲ . . . construction (ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν . . ., ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ καί τισιν ἄλλοιν ἔθνεσιν γενόμενος; see note 110) does suggest a contrast between Corinth, on the one hand, and "Alexandria and some other *ethne*," on the other hand, but, as Denniston aptly remarked about μὲν-δέ, "the strength of the antithesis varies within wide limits."[113] Here it might simply distinguish, within the statement "later I was," between "first Corinth" and "then

[113] Denniston 1954, 370.

Alexandria and elsewhere," without any implication about the time of Numisianus's death.

Given the problematic features of both the Greek and the Arabic version, there seem to be no compelling reasons to prefer the difficulties presented by one version to those presented by the other. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that Galen went to Alexandria, but that he mentioned neither any personal encounter with Numisianus nor his death, at least not in any of his extant writings that have been published over the last five centuries.

A second-century Alexandrian "school" of anatomy?

Only one of Galen's teachers in Asia Minor—Pelops—is unequivocally attested to have been taught by an Alexandrian physician. Modern scholars have tended, however, to inflate the Alexandrian filiation of Galen's teachers beyond the few certainties provided by the ancient evidence, sometimes to the point of claiming that all, or almost all, of his teachers had a direct or indirect Alexandrian genealogy and were therefore representatives of a peerless second-century Alexandrian "school of anatomy." A brief scrutiny of the relevant texts concerning his teachers as well as their teachers will show the tenuous nature of the evidence on which such claims are based.

(a) *Satyrus, Quintus, Marinus.* In Pergamum the young Galen studied medicine mainly under the guidance of Satyrus,[114] a pupil of the famous anatomist Quintus, who in turn had studied with Marinus. Modern scholars tend to associate Marinus with Alexandria and therefore to assume that Alexandria must have been the place where Quintus became his pupil, and that Quintus accordingly trained Satyrus in the "Alexandrian tradition." I am not aware, however, of any explicit, unequivocal ancient evidence that places either Marinus or Quintus in Alexandria. It is well attested that Quintus, who

[114] On Satyrus as a student of Quintus and as a teacher of Galen see Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.1, 1.2 (K 2:217, 224–5 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3, 11); *De antidotis* 1.14 (K 14:69, 71); *In Hippocratis De natura hominis comment.* 2.6 (K 15:136 = *CMG* V.9.1: 70 Mewaldt); *In Hippocratis Prorrheticum I. comment.* 1.5 (K 16:524 = *CMG* V.9.2:20 Diels); *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K 19:57 = *Scripta Minora* 2:87 Müller). See also below, nn. 122, 132.

belonged to the generation of Galen's parents,[115] for many years practised in Rome, where he became pre-eminent during the reign of Hadrian[116] before leaving under a cloud to return to his native Pergamum. But about the locus of Marinus's activity ancient sources are remarkably silent. Even the loquacious Galen is either silent or tantalizingly vague about this, remarking only that "in Marinus's lifetime *Numisianus* had already become pre-eminent in Alexandria."[117] This is a clear enough statement about Numisianus's whereabouts, but hardly about Marinus's. The almost universal modern assumption that Marinus practised and taught in Alexandria[118] might not be an entirely implausible hypothesis, but it is misleading to present it as an attested historical certainty rather than as a modern speculation. Since he lived at the time of Galen's grandparents,[119] it is likely that Marinus's revival of anatomy—i.e., the resumption of the dissection and vivisection of animals—belongs to the last decade of the first century and the early decades of the second century, but in what city or cities he initiated this revival remains uncertain.[120]

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[115] Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 4.10 (K 17B:151 = *CMG* V.10.2.2:207 Wenkebach, with app. crit.): ἐπὶ δὲ Κοΐντου τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἰατρεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοιοῦτό τι συνέβη.

[116] Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 183 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1039–40).

[117] Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:231, 2:167 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 183 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040); italics added.

[118] Singer 1956, 241 n. 32: "Marinus . . . taught anatomy in Alexandria"; Nutton 1987, 235: "The *Alexandrian* Marinus"; *id.* 1996: "Marinus (c. A.D. 130), anatomist, credited by Galen with reviving anatomical studies . . . *at Alexandria*"; *id.* 1999, 898: "Marinos *aus Alexandreia*". See also *id.* 1993, 18, on Galen's "fulsome praise of Marinus and his place in the *Alexandrian* tradition of anatomy", and 19: "Galen already knew a great deal about the *Alexandrian* anatomy of Marinus", and similarly p. 29; Grmek and Gourevitch 1994, 1493: Marinus is "celui 'qui a restauré les études anatomiques' *à Alexandrie*"; Manetti and Roselli 1994, 1580: "Marino . . . visse *ad Alessandria* al tempo degli avi di Galeno"; Ihm 2001, 163–4: "Marinos aus Alexandria"; Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 90: "Quintos, der Lehrer des Satyros und Numisianos, [hatte] seinerseits *in Alexandria* bei Marinos studiert." More appropriate caution is shown by Deichgräber 1930 (Marinos "lebte also um 130 n. Chr.; *wo, ist nicht bekannt, vielleicht* in Alexandria"); by Garofalo 1991, 1:60–1 ("Marinus praticò *probabilmente* ad Alessandria intorno al 100 d.C."); and Grmek and Gourevitch 1994, 1493 ("Des indices flous mais concordants pointent vers Alexandrie comme théâtre de ses principaux exploits"); all italics added.

[119] Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment.* 4 (*CMG* V.10.1:312.19–23 Pfaff). Manetti and Roselli 1994, 1580, refer to this passage in support of the statement that Marinus lived *in Alexandria* at the time of Galen's grandparents (see previous n.), but Galen here makes no mention of Alexandria.

[120] Galen reports that anatomy had been neglected in the period between "the

It has recently been claimed that Galen depicted Satyrus's teacher Quintus as "the true heir of *Alexandrian* anatomy."[121] But Galen never directly links Quintus with Alexandria and he never labels any tradition "Alexandrian anatomy." As in the case of Marinus, there simply is no unequivocal direct evidence that Quintus studied, practised or taught in Alexandria (as little as there is that the second great third-century BCE pioneer of human dissection, Erasistratus of Ceos, ever was in Alexandria). Galen places Quintus only in Rome and in Pergamum. Furthermore, Quintus himself left no such indication: he left behind no writings when he died[122] (yet he became famous not only as the greatest anatomist of his generation but also for his skill and originality in pharmacology and Hippocratic exegesis).[123]

Quintus in turn had many influential students, including Numisianus and at least three of Galen's teachers (Satyrus, Pelops, and Aeficianus), but also Antigenes and Lycus of Macedonia.[124] None of these except

ancients" and Marinus; see *PHP* 8.1.6 (K 5:650 = *CMG* V.4.1.2:480 De Lacy): ὁ Μαρῖνος ὁ μετὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀνατομικὴν θεωρίαν ἠμελημένην ἀνακτησάμενος. As often, it is unclear exactly which "ancients" (παλαιοί) Galen here had in mind; he uses the term to refer to predecessors from the archaic period to at least the first century BCE.

[121] Nutton 2001, 722: "Galen sah in ihm [Quintus] den wahren Erben der alexandrinischen Anatomie" (italics added).

[122] Gal., *In Hippocratis De natura hominis comment.* 1.27, 2.6 (K 15:67–8, 136 = *CMG* V.9.1:36, 70 Mewaldt). Galen's teacher Satyrus supposedly faithfully preserved Quintus's doctrines, neither adding to them nor subtracting from them: Gal., *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K 19:58 = *Scripta minora* 2:87 Müller); but Galen nowhere suggests that Satyrus associated his teacher Quintus with Alexandria. See also n. 132 below.

[123] For Galen's depiction of Quintus as superior to other physicians of his age see *De praecognitione* 1.9 (K 14:602 = *CMG* V.8.1:70 Nutton). See also *De libris propriis* 2 (K 19:22 = *Scripta minora* 2:102 Müller): Κοΐντου . . . ἀνδρὸς ἀνατομικωτάτου. On Quintus's efforts in pharmacology see Gal., *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 7.10.14 (K 12:15); *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 1.2, 3.1 (K 12:385, 606); *De antidotis* 1.14 (K 14:69–71). For Galen's less than favorable view of Quintus's exegeses of Hippocratic texts see *In Hippocratis Prorrheticum I. comment.* 3.17 (K 16:571 = *CMG* V.9.2:128–9 Diels); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum I. comment.*, praef., 1.1, 2.7 (K 17A:6–7, 24–5, 99 = *CMG* V.10.1:6, 17, 52 Wenkebach); *In Hp. Epid. II. comment.* 2 (*CMG* V.10.1:222, 39–42 Pfaff): *In Hp. Epid. III. comment.* 1.4, 1.40 (K 17A:502, 506, 515, 575 = *CMG* V.10.2.1:14, 16–17, 21, 59 Wenkebach); *In Hp. Epid. VI. comment.* 4.11, 5.31, 6 (*CMG* V.10.2.2:212.27–213.2, 314.12–20, 500.35–501.1 Wenkebach/Pfaff).

[124] Gal., *In Hippocratis De natura hominis comment.* 2.6 (K 15:136 = *CMG* V.9.1:70 Mewaldt); *In Hippocratis Prorrheticum I. comment.* 1.5 (K 16:524 = *CMG* V.9.2:20 Diels); *De antidotis* 1.14 (K 14:71); *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.1, 1.2 (K 2:217–8, 225 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3, 11); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum III. comment.* 1.40 (K 17A:545 = *CMG* V.10.2.1:59 Wenkebach; *In Hp. Epid. VI comment.* 4.11, 5.14 (*CMG* V.10.2.2: 212, 286, 287–8 Pfaff). On Aeficianus see below nn. 131–132.

Numisianus is explicitly identified as having studied or practised in Alexandria. Galen claims that he assiduously sought out all of Quintus's pupils, not even shirking lengthy journeys on land and by sea (but he acknowledges that he never met Lycus, and he implies that he became acquainted with Lycus's anatomical and exegetical works only well after Lycus's death).[125] For all his interest in Alexandria, Galen therefore never depicted Quintus and his many pupils as an "Alexandrian school."

(b) *Pelops, Numisianus*. In Smyrna, Galen studied with Quintus's pupil Pelops.[126] Here we have the only firm evidence of an Alexandrian background: as noted above, Pelops also studied with Numisianus of Alexandria.[127] Pelops became famous for his contributions to the same three areas of medicine in which Quintus had excelled: anatomy, pharmacology, and Hippocratic exegesis.[128] Numisianus similarly was known both as an expert anatomist and as a commentator on Hippocratic texts,[129] and Galen indicates that Pelops instructed him

[125] Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 4.10 (K 2:470 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:261.25–263.6). See *ibid.* 12.1 and 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:139–140, 232–3 = *id.*, 2:102, 168 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 111, 184 = Garofalo 1991, 3:955, 1041).

[126] See e.g., Gal., *De libris propriis* 2 (K 19:16–7) = *Scripta minora* 2:97–8 Müller); *De anatomicis administrationibus* 1.1 (K 2:217 = Garofalo 1986–2000, 1:3); *In Hippocratis Prorrheticum I. comment.* 1.5 (K 16:524 = *CMG* V.9.2:20 Diels); *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K 19:57 = *Scripta minora* 2:87 Müller).

[127] Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:232, 2:167–8 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 184 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040–1); *In Hippocratis De natura hominis comment.* 2.6 (K 15:136 = *CMG* V.9.1:70 Mewaldt); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment.* 2 (*CMG* V.10.1:348 Pfaff; see also pp. 349–50); *In Hp. Epid. VI. comment.* 5.14, 5.15 (*CMG* V.10.2.2:287, 291 Pfaff).

[128] On Pelops as anatomist see, e.g., Gal., *De anatomicis administrationibus* 14.1 (Simon 1906, 1:232, 2:167–8 = Duckworth/Lyons/Towers 1962, 184 = Garofalo 1991, 3:1040–1); *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 6.3.26, 6.3.33, 6.5.22–23 (K 5:527, 529–30, 543–4 = *CMG* V.4.1.2:378, 380, 392 De Lacy); *De musculorum dissectione*; praef., 6, 16 (K 18B:926–7, 935, 959 = Dietz 1832, 2.2–6, 2.16–18, 11.18–19, 30.14–16 [ch. 1, 7, 15]). On Pelops's interest in pharmacology and venomous animals see *id.*, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 11.1.34 (K 12:358–9); *De antidotis* 2.11 (K 14:172); cf. *De locis affectis* 3.11 (K 8:194–8), a discussion of the physiology of epilepsy and venom. For his interpretation of Hippocratic texts and doctrines—and for Galen's claim that Pelops wrote commentaries on "*all* writings of Hippocrates" as well as "Hippocratic Introductions"—see *id., In Hippocratis De articulis comment.* 3.39 (K 18A:539); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment.* 4 (*CMG* V.10.1:348–50 Pfaff); *In Hp. Epid. VI. comment.* 5.15, 7, 8 (*CMG* V.10.2.2:291, 412, 500 Pfaff); *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K 19:57 = *Scripta minora* 2:86–7 Müller); *De musculorum dissectione*, praef. (K 18B:926 = Dietz 1832, 2).

[129] On Numisianus's exegetical activity see Gal., *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K

about Numisianus's interpretations of Hippocratic texts.[130] But, as we have seen, Pelops would not allow Galen direct access to Numisianus's works; the extent to which Pelops transmitted the Alexandrian's teachings to Galen therefore remains unclear.

(c) *Aeficianus, Stratonicus, Aeschrion, Epicurus.* No ancient source explicitly links Quintus's pupil Aeficianus, who also taught Galen (probably in Pergamum)[131] and whose interest in Hippocratic exegesis contributed to the young Galen's life-long interest in the history of Hippocratic commentaries,[132] with second-century Alexandria. So too neither Galen's teacher Stratonicus, a native of Pergamum, nor Stratonicus's teacher Sabinus, a well known Hippocratic physician and commentator, is attested to have been in Alexandria.[133] For the Pergamene Empiricists Epicurus and Aeschrion, whom Galen also mentions among his teachers, there likewise is no evidence of an Alexandrian filiation.[134]

19:57 = *Scripta minora* 2:86–87 Müller); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment.* 4 (*CMG* V.10.1:348.19, 349.41, 350.39 Pfaff); *In Hippocratis Aphorismos comment.* 4.69, 5.44 (K 17B:751, 837); *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 4.11 (*CMG* V.10.2.2.:212.27 Pfaff).

[130] *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum II. comment.* 4 (*CMG* V.10.1:348.17–19 Pfaff).

[131] On Galen as a student of Aeficianus see Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum III. comment.* 1.40 (K 17A:575 = *CMG* V 10,2.1:59.14–19 Wenkebach): Σάτυρος δὲ καὶ Αἰφικιανὸς (corr. Bergk: ἀφικιανὸς L: φικανὸς O Kühn) ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτῷ συνδιατρίψαντες οὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην ἐξήγησιν ἐις Κοΐντον ἀνέφερον· ἀκριβῶς γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι τοῦτ' ἐγώ, ἀμφοτέροις διδασκάλοις χρησάμενος. On Aeficianus as a student of Quintus see also Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 5.14 (*CMG* V.10.2.2:287 Pfaff); *In Hippocratis De medici officina comment.* 1.3 (K 18B:654): τοῦ Κοΐντου μαθητὴς Αἰφικιανός (Ἰφικιανός edd.: corr. Bergk); see Müller 1891, LXIV; Moraux 1983.

[132] Gal., *De ordine librorum suorum* 3 (K 19:58 = *Scripta minora* 2:87 Müller), reports that Satyrus accurately preserved Quintus's (unpublished) Hippocratic exegeses, whereas Aeficianus changed them in the direction of more Stoicizing readings. See n. 122 above. On Simias the Stoic and Aeficianus see *id., In Hippocratis De medici officina* 1.3 (K 18B:654).

[133] See Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 5.14, 5.25, 7 (*CMG* V.10.2.2: 287.17–20, 303.10–16, 412.22–26 Pfaff); in all three of these passages Galen describes Stratonicus as "a man from my city." In *De atra bile* 4.12 (K 5:119 = *CMG* V.4.1.1:78.22–29 de Boer) Galen calls him "one of my teachers in Pergamum." I am not aware of any explicitly attested direct connection between Stratonicus's teacher Sabinus and Alexandria (the Methodist Julian attacked one of Sabinus's interpretations, but this hardly constitutes any evidence that Sabinus practised in Alexandria or ever visited there). As noted above, Sabinus's pupil Metrodorus, whom Galen ridiculed, was active in Alexandria, but this does not necessarily entail that Sabinus or any of his other students belonged to an Alexandrian milieu. See above, nn. 101–102.

[134] Gal., *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 11.1.34 (K 12:356–7): Αἰσχρίων ὁ ἐμπειρικὸς . . . φαρμάκων ἐμπειρικώτατος γέρων, πολίτης τε καὶ διδάσκαλος

This brief survey of the extant evidence shows that the tendency to associate almost all of Galen's teachers, and so too his teachers' teachers, with Alexandria and, in particular, with an "Alexandrian school of anatomy,"[135] is in need of thorough reconsideration.

Galen's high expectations of contemporary Alexandrian medicine, especially in anatomy and Hippocratic exegesis, were disappointed. But, as we have seen, there was no lack of things in Alexandria to engage the mind and the senses of this exceptionally inquisitive, erudite young doctor for several years. Inadequate and fragmentary though our understanding of Galen's Alexandria must remain, he offers significant glimpses of collective and individual Alexandrian practices, of indigenous products and their uses, of local diseases, of indigenous animals, and of what he saw as the inferior scientific quality and unprofessional behavior of the Alexandrian medical elite.

In 157 Galen left Egypt, but Alexandria remained a significant point of reference in his writings of all periods.[136] In part this was due to the vivid impressions, positive and negative, left by his experiences in Alexandria. But in part it was also due to his ever expanding knowledge of the remarkably rich traditions of scientific medicine

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ἡμέτερος; Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium* 3.186.5 (*CMG* VI.3:113.19 Raeder), depends on the Galenic passage. Both Aeschrion and Galen, in turn, appear to have drawn, at least in part, on earlier traditions; cf., e.g., Dioscurides, *Materia medica* 2.10 (1:125 Wellmann, with his list of *similia*); Damocrates, in Gal., *De antidotis* 2.15 (K 14:195–6); Asclepiades the Younger (Pharmakion), in Gal., *De antidotis* 2.11 (K:14:169). On the Empiricist Epicurus see Gal., *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum VI. comment.* 7 (*CMG* V.10.2.2:412.24–9 Pfaff). *Id., De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 5.5 (K 13:807.7–13), does not refer to the same Epicurus (*pace* Kudlien 1962); see Fabricius 1972, 226–7; above, n. 22.

[135] See most recently Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 90: "Numesianos und Galen gelangten mit ihrer Übersiedlung nach Alexandria nicht nur in das traditionelle Zentrum der medizinischen Wissenschaft, sondern zugleich auch an den Ansgangspunkt ihrer eigenen 'Schule', hatte doch Quintos, der Lehrer von Satyros und Numesianos, seinerseits in Alexandria bei Marinos studiert, deren vorrangiges Arbeitsgebiet die Anatomie war." As indicated above, however, there is no explicit evidence that Quintus, Marinus or Satyrus ever set foot in Alexandria.

[136] A dubious Arabic tradition that appears in divergent refractions recounts that Galen returned to Egypt late in life—to study the properties of opium, according to one source, Al-Mubashshir—on his way to Jerusalem or Syria or Pergamum. The story claims that he became ill and died in Egypt, and that he was buried at Pelusium at the mouth of the Nile. See Rosenthal 1965, 54; Gero 1990, 389 with n. 58; Nutton 1993, 11; Boudon 1994–1995, 68–9. An equally spurious rival tradition also claims that Galen died on his way to Jerusalem (on a pilgrimage), but it locates his death and burial in Sicily; see Amari 1887, 427–39.

in Ptolemaic Alexandria. He might have been deeply disappointed by the scientific medicine he encountered in Alexandria in the 150s, but he had considerable respect for numerous learned physicians who practised in Alexandria in the last three centuries BCE. While in Alexandria, he was captivated by what he saw as the exotic amidst the Greek, the alien amidst the familiar. The possibilities for making observations about the effects of unusual foods and diets on the human body, about the relations between climate, diet, disease, and health, about local methods for cooling and purifying water, about local medical knowledge that might have translocal utility, not to mention the availability of human skeletons for scientific study, all added to the strong lure of second-century Alexandria, despite the absence of the great Numisianus and the inaccessibility of his writings.

Galen brought his deep historical awareness to bear on Alexandria. In the distant past represented by Ptolemaic Alexandria he saw innovative giants, none as revered as Hippocrates, but many of them pioneers of a new scientific medicine, sometimes worthy of praise, sometimes worthy of a critical agon, and often worthy of appropriation or expropriation. This was the Alexandria, more than the Alexandria he experienced for four to six years, of which Galen understood himself to be the heir. He recognized that, paradoxically, only by integrating the best of both early and late Alexandrian scientific medicine into his system could he present himself as the new "Hippocrates."

CHAPTER TEN

HELLENISM AND OPPOSITION TO CHRISTIANITY IN ALEXANDRIA

Christopher Haas

In mid-June of 356, during a riot at the Caesarion, a crowd of Alexandrian pagans looted the newly-consecrated Great Church and made a huge bonfire of the church's furnishings and curtains in a nearby street. There was a decidedly religious tone to this vandalism, for the pagans threw incense onto the fire and joined in songs praising their deities. They also shouted slogans, including one which proclaimed, 'Constantius has become a Hellene!'[1] This seems a bit unusual as a rallying cry designed to stir the hearts and minds of Alexandria's polytheists. What did Hellenism signify for this crowd of Alexandrians?

In the fourth century, 'Hellene' and 'Hellenism' were contested terms which did not automatically denote adherence to paganism. As Alan Cameron has pointed out, even after the emperor Julian sought to endow the terms with almost exclusively religious meaning in the early 360s, there were still notable writers like Themistius and Libanius who regarded 'Hellene' as synonymous with civility and culture.[2] Half a century after the Caesarion riot, the urbane bishop Synesius likewise uses 'Hellene' in this strictly cultural sense, even when writing to his former Alexandrian teacher, Hypatia.[3]

However, if we can believe the terminology employed by Athanasius in his account of the Caesarion riot, the pagan acclamation that Constantius had become a Hellene surely has little to do with the emperor's cultural predilections or use of language. Constantius's hand-picked administrators made no effort to quell the riot, and indeed, may have even instigated it. Consequently, the pagan Alexandrians

[1] Athan. *Hist. Ar.* 56 col. 761a; Martin 1996, 476–9; Haas 1997, 280–6.
[2] Cameron 1993a. See also Curta 2002.
[3] Synesius *Ep.* 154, 49, 101; Schmitt 2001, 497–563.

may have used the slogan as a way to voice their assumption that the emperor was affirming their status within the city. This assumption was to prove false when Constantius's patriarchal appointee, George of Cappadocia, was installed eight months later. Within a short time, George used the imperial garrison to set in motion a broad attack on pagan cults in the city.[4]

Still, it is significant that the pagans chose the term Hellene in 356 to express allegiance to paganism in Alexandria. Did they regard Hellenism as a religiously-charged ideology which could be placed in opposition to Christianity? If so, how did Hellenism acquire this meaning, and what did it denote in a narrowly Alexandrian context?

Of course, it is not possible to discuss Hellenism in late antiquity without reference to G.W. Bowersock's seminal 1990 book of the same name. He demonstrated the multifaceted ways in which Hellenism served as a cultural medium for the expression both of Christianity and of non-Greek forms of paganism. Whether in Syria, Egypt, or the Arabian peninsula, Hellenism played a remarkable role 'in strengthening and even transforming local worship without eradicating its local character.'[5]

Hellenism of this sort is a much broader construct than simply the Hellenism of the schoolroom. It provided for the articulation and dissemination of indigenous forms of piety. Consequently, this inquiry is concerned with the sensibilities of the average Alexandrian polytheist, in an attempt to discern the contours of a common religious outlook. It is important not to presuppose that an Alexandrian religious sensibility was necessarily best expressed as Hellenism. In some cases, the overt rejection of Greek culture and especially Hellenized deities may serve as a vital component to a local religious outlook. Moreover, we may find that Hellenism as a religious ideology in late antique Alexandria was simply the construct of a narrow circle of philosophers in their attempt to comprehend indigenous religion into a universal system.

But what is indigenous religion in Alexandria? David Frankfurter has eloquently argued for the priority of the local and the domestic in his masterful 1998 study of religion in Roman Egypt.[6] This

[4] Martin 1996, 536–9; Haas 1997, 287–92.
[5] Bowersock 1990, 21.
[6] Frankfurter 1998.

allows him to chronicle the vitality of multiform indigenous religion rather than seeing it as part of some pan-Mediterranean paganism or a monolithic Egyptian paganism. Alexandria appears very seldom in his book, in part because of his desire to redress a scholarly imbalance which has favored the great metropolis. In his words, 'The distinctive religious history of Alexandria, while certainly continuous with religion in Egypt proper, has tended to be given the dominant voice for the whole extended region because of the city's prominence in the works of ancient historians.' He goes on to define Alexandrian religion as 'the 'intellectual pagan' subculture of Sosipatra, Antoninus, Hypatia, and their chronicler Eunapius.'[7] Thus, for Frankfurter, while religion in the Egyptian *chôra* is characterized by its local and popular expression, Alexandrian religion remains firmly in the hands of an intellectual elite.

If we are to broaden our investigation to the average Alexandrian it is necessary to focus on popular religious behavior rather than the pronouncements and policies of the governing authorities. Thus, while a catalogue of temples can convey a great deal of information concerning official patronage of particular deities, it cannot gauge the relative importance of the gods for the Alexandrian populace.[8] Merely knowing of the existence of temples to Hellenic gods like Poseidon or Athena, or Egyptian gods like Hathor or Anubis does not measure their popularity among the Alexandrians, especially during the last phase of Alexandrian polytheism. In addition, Alexandrian coinage, for all the richness of its religious iconography, again only indicates the status of the gods in the perception of the governing authorities.[9] Perhaps more evocative of the religiosity of the Alexandrians is the statistic preserved by the fourth-century Syriac *Notitia* that the metropolis possessed some 2,478 temples among the city's five *grammata*—a fantastic number unless one also includes in it both neighborhood and private shrines.[10]

Fortunately, the Alexandrian populace had at its disposal the means to voice its religious and political sentiments through the ritualized

[7] Frankfurter 1998, 10; developed more fully in Frankfurter 2000.
[8] The evidence for individual deities and their respective temples is conveniently collected in Adriani 1966b; Calderini 1935; and Fraser 1972, 189–301.
[9] Handler 1971.
[10] Translation of the Syriac text in Fraser 1951, 104.

shouting of acclamations. While this expression of popular will was a common feature of late antique urban life, the populace of Alexandria had a reputation for outspokenness and wit that bordered on mockery—much to the consternation of governing officials.[11] Indeed, the sharpness of their wit so aroused the anger of Caracalla in 215 that he ordered the massacre of many aristocratic youths in the city.[12] Acclamations ranged from expressions of praise to the harshest imprecations, and were directed at the emperor and his representatives, notable individuals in the city, and even deities.[13] Of course, religious and political acclamations had been a part of Mediterranean urban dynamics for centuries.[14] One has only to think of the silversmiths of Ephesus shouting, 'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!' for over two hours.[15]

Typical of the Alexandrian penchant for wit and invective is the slogan attributed in a late tradition to the mob that killed St. Mark. During a festival dedicated to Serapis, the crowd placed a rope around Mark's throat and dragged him across the paving stones of the city's cattle market while they shouted, 'Drag the serpent through the cattle pasture!'[16] In the wake of the destruction of the Serapeum in 391 and the transfer of the Nilometer from the Serapeum to the Caesarion, there was a widespread expectation that the Nile would show forth the wrath of the gods by refusing its annual inundation. The next year, however, there was a record overflow of the river's banks, such that Sozomen tells us, 'The pagans of Alexandria, irritated at this unexpected occurrence, exclaimed in derision at the public theatres, that the River, like an old man or fool, could not control his waters.'[17] This mockery of discredited deities also occurred nearly a century later, after the destruction of the Isis shrine at Menouthis.[18] When the Christian mob brought back into the city a great number of looted pagan statues, they displayed the sacred images in the Agora and shouted:

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[11] Barry 1993.
[12] Herodian 4.9.2–7; Cassius Dio 78.23.
[13] Haas 1997, 66–7, 241–4.
[14] Talbert 1984, 297–302; Roueché 1984.
[15] *Acts* 19: 23–41.
[16] (*Surômen ton boubklon en tois Boukolou*), *History of the Patriarchs* (ed., Evetts) 1.1 pp. 146–147 <48–49>. Pearson 1986, 145–8, 151–4; Pearson, 1993.
[17] Sozomen *HE* 7.20; Rufinus *HE* 11.30.
[18] Trombley 1994, 2: 1–51.

> 'There is Dionysus, the hermaphrodite god! Behold Kronos who hated children! Behold Zeus, the adulterer and lover of young boys! This one is Athena, the war-loving virgin; there is Artemis the huntress and enemy of strangers. Ares, that war-making demon, and Apollo—this is the one who caused so many people to perish. Aphrodite, who presides over prostitution. As for Dionysus, he patronizes drunkenness!'[19]

Zachariah of Mitylene sums up the role of acclamations in the transformation of Alexandrian civic religion by saying, 'Thus they overthrew the pagans by a multitude of jokes.'[20]

Another avenue of inquiry where it may be possible to differentiate between official ideology and popular sentiment is the response of the Alexandrian *demos* during the persecutions of the third and early fourth centuries. In a letter to bishop Fabius of Antioch, Dionysius of Alexandria details the events of the Decian persecution in Alexandria during the early 250s.[21] However, he reports that much of the violence directed against the Christians began as much as a year prior to the issuance of imperial edicts. He speaks of an unnamed 'prophet and creator of evils for this city' who incited the pagan populace to violence against the Christians. Dionysius describes him as a *mantis*, that is, a seer or diviner—a charismatic religious authority of a type increasingly popular in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt. Under his inspiration, the pagan populace initiated a violent pogrom against the city's Christians. A century and a half later, during the street violence surrounding the destruction of the Serapeum, the pagan crowd likewise was led by a charismatic religious teacher, a philosopher named Olympos—confirming the predisposition of the pagan populace to follow a *mantis* who was perceived to be endowed with divine authority.[22]

Following the direction of the unnamed third century *mantis*, the pagan Alexandrians murdered selected Christians in a very traditional, ritualized Alexandrian manner; the victims were dragged or paraded on camels through the streets, and then their mutilated bodies were burned.[23] These murders should be distinguished from the judicial

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[19] Zach. *v. Sev.* (ed. and trans. M.-A. Kugener), pp. 34–35.
[20] Zach. *v. Sev.* (ed. and trans. M.-A. Kugener), p. 35.
[21] Quoted in Eus. *HE* 6.49.
[22] Rufinus *HE* 2.22; Sozomen *HE* 7.15; <Damascius> *Epit. Photiana* 48 (ed. Zintzen, p. 70) = Damascius fr. 92 (ed. Zintzen, p. 71). Fowden 1982; Athanassiadi 1993.
[23] Haas 1993.

tortures and executions that followed, once the imperial edicts arrived in the city. The form of violence employed by the crowd during the pogrom suggests that the Alexandrians viewed the Christians as threats to their traditional moral and religious world, and thought that the Christians should be exterminated in such a way as to ritually cleanse the city from pollution. Clearly, by the mid-third century, Alexandrian polytheists had become aware of Christianity as a rival 'other' and employed violence to demarcate communal boundaries.

It is not until the Great Persecution that the question of Greek culture enters into the conflict between pagans and Christians in Alexandria. It is worth noting, however, that the first mention of a dispute over Hellenism does not come from a popular expression of hatred towards the Christians, but only in a courtroom exchange between Culcianus the prefect (303–306) and Phileas, bishop of Thumis. At one point, the prefect derides Christ as 'a common man (*idiôtês*) who spoke Syriac.' In reply, Phileas says that Christ was a Jew who 'spoke Greek as the first of the Greeks' (*prôtos Hellênôn*) and even was greater than Plato.[24] This would seem to be a somewhat academic digression in an exchange otherwise centered on Phileas's unwillingness to sacrifice. However, it seems to indicate that, by the early fourth century, Hellenism had become part of the debate over Christianity's legitimacy, at least among elite circles.

In exploring the role of Hellenism in the religious world of fourth century Alexandria, it should be noted that the issue only presents itself during moments of violent conflict between pagans and Christians. I previously saw these 'flashpoints of intercommunal conflict' as opportunities to cast light on the social dynamics of Alexandria's ethnoreligious communities.[25] I have become increasingly aware, however, of the limitations inherent in this methodology. While the literary sources provide vivid accounts of incidents of intercommunal violence, they present their evidence in tendentious passages designed to shape the memory of the incident. Athanasius's narrative of riots in 339 and 356 overtly categorizes his Arian opponents as pseudo-pagans, or at least so favorable to the pagan cause in Alexandria that their interests are practically identical. Athanasius is followed by later Christian authors, who in a similar manner, use the category

[24] *P.Bodmer* 20, col. 7, lines 5–13.
[25] Haas 1997, 12–3.

of pagan as a means to denigrate the enemies of the church, in much the same way as the category of Jew was creatively applied to Arians and Meletians. This calculated blurring of communal labels takes place in the writings of Christian authors across a broad spectrum, including those whose cultural horizons are more Mediterranean, like Socrates Scholasticus, Rufinus, and Sozomen, or more local and Egyptian, like John of Nikiu and the much-redacted *History of the Patriarchs*.

It is perhaps more tempting to rely upon the representations of Alexandrian pagans found in the writings of pagan authors like Julian, Eunapius, and Damascius. Julian especially portrays Alexandrian pagans as members of a cohesive community prepared to defend its interests with violence if necessary. It has long been recognized, however, that Julian looked at the religious world through the eyes of a sectarian. Moreover, it was the apostate emperor, more than any other writer of the fourth century, who recast Hellenism in a far narrower sense as a pagan ideology rather than a general adherence to Greek cultural values.[26] Modern commentators are becoming increasingly aware that Julian's views were far from mainstream. And while Gregory of Nazianzus may have overstated the emperor's penchant for equating paganism with Hellenism, thereby denying Greek-speaking Christians their cultural identity, it is clear that Julian sought to draw together the empire's welter of pagan cults and practices into a unified hierarchically-structured community of Hellenes.[27]

In Julian's letters, the emperor seems to be engaged in a war of rhetoric over the cultural identity of the Alexandrians. At one point, he flatters the Alexandrians by portraying them as particularly god-fearing (*theosebês*).[28] Later, in the scolding letter sent to them after the lynching of George of Cappadocia, Julian reminds the Alexandrians of their founding by Alexander, 'a god-fearing man', and the long-standing patronage they have enjoyed from their tutelary gods, Serapis and Isis. He then exclaims, 'I am overwhelmed with shame, I affirm it by the gods, O men of Alexandria, to think that even a single Alexandrian can admit that he is a Galilean.'[29] In this way, he seeks

[26] Fowden 1999, 85–7.
[27] Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.536, 637. Bouffartigue 1991; Smith 1995.
[28] Julian *Ep.* 110, (ed., Bidez-Cumont).
[29] Julian *Ep.* 111, (ed., Bidez-Cumont).

to marginalize the Christians by representing them as an 'impious school' (*dusseboûs didaskaleiou*). In Julian's eyes, the Christians are a pernicious sect, and he excoriates their leaders, especially Athanasius, as enemies of the gods. Julian asserts that the Christians did not represent 'the healthy part of the city,' and that 'this diseased part [the Christian community] has the audacity to arrogate to itself the name of the whole.' Therefore, in his view, Alexandria's cultural identity was still fundamentally pagan, despite Christian claims to the contrary.

Julian equates this Alexandrian cultural identity with his own particular version of Hellenism. While he acknowledges the role of Isis and Serapis in the city's pantheon, Julian emphasizes 'the blessings bestowed by the Olympian gods,' and goes on to extol the beneficence of Helios upon the Alexandrians. Since, for Julian, the city's pagan identity was indistinguishable from Hellenism, he is especially outraged that Athanasius had 'the audacity to baptize Greek women of rank during my reign.'[30] Julian's determination to cast Alexandria's pagans as fellow Hellenes in his grand *Kulturkampf* should caution us from taking his cultural categories at face value.

If one wishes to find a less partisan literary source for understanding Alexandrian religious life, a possible candidate is the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*.[31] This geographical and cultural description of the eastern Mediterranean was probably penned in the fourth century by a merchant from Syria. In his account of Alexandria, the author lingers over Alexandria's intellectual reputation, its abundance of luxury goods and agricultural commodities, its role in papyrus production, the volatility of its populace, and the reputation it has acquired in religious devotion. In a famous passage, he tells us:

> I think that in celebrating [this locale], it owes its particular renown to the gods, because there—as I have already said—the gods are especially honored by [artistic] representations. There, one can see every sort of consecrated shrine and lavishly decorated temple; sacristans, priests, attendants, haruspices, worshippers, and the best diviners all abound; and everything is performed according to the proper rites. Thus, you will find altars constantly ablaze with the fires of sacrifices and heaped with incense, as well as garlands and censers filled with perfumes emitting a divine fragrance.[32]

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[30] Julian *Ep.* 112, (ed., Bidez-Cumont).
[31] Rougé 1966.
[32] *Expositio* 34.7–9.

Some scholars have taken this as a description of religious life in the rest of Egypt. While it is true that the author switches back and forth between Alexandria and Egypt in the sections devoted to them, this particular passage is firmly embedded between a discussion of Alexandria's role in supplying the imperial armies and his often quoted remarks concerning the violence of the Alexandrian populace. Moreover, his description of Alexandria's topography seems to be based on first-hand knowledge, while his portrayal of the regions up-river relies upon literary commonplaces. In the section on Alexandrian religious life, the author tends to emphasize those aspects of devotion that seem especially Egyptian. The temples are 'lavishly decorated' and the most common religious practice is the offering of incense. Although these are not exclusively Egyptian forms of piety, he seems taken with the exotic quality of this devotion.

Of course, specifically Egyptian forms of piety can provide Alexandrian writers, both pagan and Christian, with ammunition in their rhetorical salvos. One thinks of Athanasius's mocking description of zoomorphic pagan deities in the *Contra Gentes*:

> For mixing up the rational and the irrational and combining things unlike in nature, they worship the result as gods, such as the dog-headed and snake-headed and ass-headed gods among the Egyptians, and the ram-headed Ammon among the Libyans. While others, dividing apart the portions of men's bodies, head, shoulder, hand, and foot, have set up each as gods and deified them, as though their religion were not satisfied with the whole body in its integrity.[33]

A century and a half later, Damascius in the *Philosophical History* employs Egyptian religious motifs to emphasize the expertise of Alexandrian teachers like Asclepiades and Heraiskos. His glowing account of their religious accomplishments does not link the two teachers to an unbroken, living tradition which resonates with the piety of the average Alexandrian. Quite the opposite: their familiarity with esoteric religious lore marks them as far superior to the masses—especially by the late fifth century when the Alexandrian populace was almost completely Christian.[34]

As one observes more broadly-based polytheism in Alexandria,

[33] Athan. *c. Gent.* 9.3.

[34] Damascius frs. 161, 163–164, 172, 174 (ed. Zintzen, pp. 135, 137, 145, 147); <Damascius> *Epit. Photiana* 95–96 (ed. Zintzen, p. 140). Hoffmann 1994.

especially during those periods of conflict when popular religious passions become briefly visible, the constant mixture of Greek and Egyptian elements is especially striking. While Greek forms of piety are easily recognizable, it is vital not to lose sight of the indigenous Egyptian elements of this religious behavior. In his account of the Caesarion riot in June of 356, Athanasius highlights the devotion of the pagan crowd to Dionysus, one of the most versatile of Greek deities, and one who had enjoyed tremendous local popularity since the Ptolemaic period. However, during the riot, the pagans also seized the heifer which drew water in the temple's gardens, with the intention of sacrificing it, but they were dissuaded when they discovered that it was not a bull. The sacrifice of a bull in a precinct dedicated to ruler cult has Egyptian overtones that resonate deep into the Pharaonic past. The strength and virility of the bull had, through sacrifice, long been assimilated to the power of the king.[35] By contrast, a heifer was traditionally associated with Hathor, the divine mother of the Pharaoh and of kingship itself. Heifer cults, either in the form of Hathor or Isis, were customarily expressed through singing, dancing, and the offering of incense—precisely the behavior described by Athanasius.[36]

This same amalgam of Greek and Egyptian religious motifs is very much in evidence during the violent events surrounding the destruction of pagan cult at the Serapeum in 391. Socrates Scholasticus informs us that two of his teachers in Constantinople had been present in Alexandria and had taken part in the street violence of 391. He describes one of them, Helladius, as a priest of Zeus (probably Ammon-Zeus), and the other, Ammonius, as a priest 'of the Ape' (*pithêkou*).[37] This can be none other than the ancient baboon god Thoth in one of his many incarnations. Thoth was closely associated with Osiris/Serapis as the principal assistant in the judgment hall of the dead. By the Ptolemaic period, Thoth was considered a potent deity of resurrection and became assimilated with Hermes as Hermes Trismegistus. Moreover, the leader of the pagan crowd at the Serapeum, Olympos, is depicted by Damascius as a charismatic teacher of 'the ancient traditions.' Olympos originally hailed from

[35] Kessler 2001.
[36] Vischak 2001; Pinch 1993.
[37] Soc. Schol. *HE* 5.16.

Cilicia, and though we have no evidence that he was conversant with Egyptian religion, he urged his devoted band of disciples to 'perform throughout the day the ordained ritual to the god (Serapis) according to ancient custom.'[38]

Nearly a century after the destruction of Serapis's cult in Alexandria, we have similar evidence of the composite nature of religious practice. This arises from Zachariah of Mytilene's richly-textured narrative of his student days at Alexandria in the 480's with Severus, the future Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. Zachariah belonged to a group of Christian rowdies who, with the active support of the patriarch, attacked the cult center and oracular shrine of Isis at Menouthis. This site, along with the neighboring cult center at Canopus, had retained its position well into the fifth century as a major focus of pagan religious observances, including sacrifice and incubation. After the destruction of the shrine at Menouthis, the Christians returned to Alexandria with twenty camels laden with pagan statuary and cult objects. Zachariah tells us that these included images of Apollo, Athena, and Dionysus—as well as statues of 'dogs, cats, apes, crocodiles, and other reptiles.'[39]

These various episodes, besides portraying Alexandrian polytheism as both Hellenic and Egyptian, all focus on the destruction or Christianization of significant temples. They perpetuate the all-too-familiar plot line of the 'conflict of Christianity and paganism,' which highlights almost exclusively the public expressions of pagan cult. This forces the reader to follow the programmatic statements of the late fourth and early fifth century church historians like Socrates Scholasticus and Rufinus by assuming that temples constitute the measure of active polytheism and a viable pagan communal life. As is evident with Judaism after the Bar Kochba Revolt, the destruction of a temple does not necessarily spell the doom of the religion, but it does necessitate that the religion either undergoes a metamorphosis and adapt to the changed conditions, or that it flourishes in those very areas unaffected by temple destruction.

In order to trace this evolution, it is imperative that we attempt to break free from the cultural categories created or manipulated by the literary elite (both pagan and Christian), who would force the

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[38] Damascius fr. 42G (ed. Zintzen, p. 30).
[39] Zach. *V. Sev.* (ed. M.-A. Kugener), pp. 29, 34–35.

inquiry into long-established dichotomies like Greek versus Egyptian or pagan versus Christian. Patristic writers were not the first to pour scorn upon Egyptian forms of piety, particularly on the composite animal-human deities worshipped by the Egyptians for over three millennia.[40] This was a convention of Graeco-Roman literature, and was only modified under the influence of Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Julian, who sought to draw the venerable traditions of Egyptian religion into a unified front against Christianity. Against this broader context, Hellenization seems to be a displaced concept when applied to the cultural milieu of Alexandria. In practice, it meant endowing certain Egyptian religious rituals and beliefs with a Greek idiom. However, it is evident that Egyptian religious forms maintained their vitality in Alexandria until the end of antiquity. Consequently, an overt *interpretatio graeca* seems to be a literary convention employed mainly by Alexandrian philosophical circles of the late fourth and fifth centuries.

Certainly the most profitable methodology for observing religious sentiment is through the city's evocative material remains. Here, we see no trace of anxiety to Hellenize Egyptian religion. A prime example of this easy coexistence between Greek and Egyptian forms can be observed on the stuccos decorating Tomb 2 at Kôm el-Shuqafa. This early second century tomb juxtaposes two scenes which portray belief in the afterlife: the mummification of Osiris by Anubis, and the abduction of Persephone by Hades. This same cultural coexistence can be found in tombs from all periods of the ancient city, including some of the earliest tombs from the recent excavations at the Gabbari necropolis.[41]

At the 1993 Getty Symposium, Glen Bowersock expressed the hunch that 'the living polytheism of late antique Egypt was rooted in the old Egyptian cults. By contrast, wherever purely classical Greek paganism turns up in literature or in art . . . it appears to be an elegant or erudite pleasure of Christians.'[42] The expressions we have observed of popular religious sentiment among Alexandria's pagans seem to confirm this hunch. The old gods of Egypt stood at the center of religious conflict with the increasingly militant Christian

[40] Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984.
[41] Empereur 1998, 175–211.
[42] Bowersock 1996, 266–7.

community. The literary and material evidence suggest that the Greek gods could be divested of much of their religious meaning, while the Egyptian gods could not. Reliefs in ivory and stone of classical deities are fairly common from Kôm el-Dikka, unlike the far more rare Egyptian gods. The impression one gets from the Kôm el-Dikka material is that desacralized images of Dionysus and Aphrodite, along with assorted nerieds and maenads, were popular decorative motifs in late antique Alexandrian homes, regardless of the inhabitants' religious inclinations.[43] This implies that the classical gods could be transformed into an innocuous expression of Hellenic high culture and good taste, while gods like Anubis, Osiris, and Hathor were far more resistant to any such conversion. Images of Egyptian deities were likely to suffer the same fate as the busts of Serapis which had adorned many Alexandrian doorways—until they were smashed by Christian vandals in 391.[44] Larger cult statues from late antiquity could expect similar treatment, like the chryselephantine fragments of Isis and Serapis discovered in 1982 near the city center which had been methodically hacked to pieces and then burnt.[45] This suggests that erudite polytheists of the late fifth century like Heraiskos and Asclepiades were espousing a religious Hellenism that had much more affinity with the ideals of their philosophical coreligionists in Athens and Aphrodisias than with pagan Alexandrians of even the third and fourth centuries. The religious sentiments of the pagan man in the street, before he disappears from our view at the end of the fourth century, show him to inhabit a city better described as *Alexandria in Aegypto* instead of *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*.

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[43] Rodziewicz 1969; Rodziewicz 1978.
[44] Rufinus *HE* 2.29.
[45] Rodziewicz 1991a; Rodziewicz 1991b.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SOME UNPUBLISHED WAX FIGURINES FROM UPPER EGYPT

Mona Haggag

In 1978 the Inspectorate of Antiquities of Egypt conducted excavations at Beni Mazar, c. 45 km. northeast of Minya. The site represents the cemetery of the ancient city of Cynopolis, which is known today as El-Sheikh Fadl. The excavations have yielded two groups of reddish wax figurines, which were found under an inverted pot 22 cm. in diameter (figure 1).[1] A rectangular shard (6.50 × 3.50 cm.) is cut out of the pot beginning from the rim.

The first group (figure 2) shows a jackal crouching on a woman (10 cm. long) whose legs and hands are tied together behind her back (figure 3). A deliberate cavity is made in her abdomen as if the jackal has devoured it (figure 4). The second group shows a jackal pouncing upon a man (11 cm. long) and devouring his neck (figure 5). The man is shown with his hands and legs tied together behind his back and with his genital organ erect. The back legs and tail of the jackal are stuck to the knees of the man.

Artifacts made of such a malleable material as wax, owing to their fragility, are rarely found in archaeological excavations, a matter that makes these figurines very special. From first sight, it is apparent that these figurines are not works of art per se. They were executed very carelessly, without any details indicating a certain artistic style. So, we cannot call the person who made them an artist but a craftsman who did not care to make them elaborate pieces. He had in mind a certain purpose to be performed through using them. Having been discovered under an inverted pot inside a tomb, this ensemble is believed to serve a magical purpose.

[1] The whole group has been moved from the Mallawy Museum where it was kept to Alexandria in order to be exhibited in the Archeological Museum of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. The new registry number of the pot is 599, of the woman 600 and of the man 601.

Concerning the date of this magical operation, there is no information about the cemetery or the stratum in which the ensemble was found. There is a reference dating it to the Greco-Roman period in the registry of the Mallawy Museum. It is not possible to recognize the date by means of artistic style or the execution, because the features are not clear, and the technique is simple enough to make it indistinct through the different periods. Furthermore, the rarity of wax pieces yielded by excavations does not help us in this direction.

The only evidence left is the earthen pot. It is made of coarse-grained local clay of the Nile valley, with loose texture. Thus it belongs to a class of what is called 'Egyptian Red Slip Ware,' under which three categories fall. None were used in Egypt before the late fourth century AD.[2] The clay of the pot is of poor quality, containing mica flakes. Over the whole surface, a matte slip of orange color is applied, but more thickly over the interior than the exterior. The interior has a smooth soapy appearance as a result of burnishing, while rough spatula marks are visible over the exterior. All these characteristics correspond with those of the first category of 'Egyptian Red Slip Ware,' known as: 'Egyptian A' or 'Coptic Red Slip Ware' which was common between the end of the fourth and the end of the seventh centuries AD. The suggested centers of production are Luxor and Aswan. As for the form of the pot, it is a deep bowl with curved walls and low foot. This form corresponds to a type dated by Hayes to the sixth century or earlier.[3]

Magic is the system through which man controls events by means of supernatural powers.[4] It is based on two principles.[5] First, the principle of similarity, which has other names, such as homeopathic or imitative magic. Second, the principle of contagion, hence called contagious magic. The first principle depends on the notion that like has a similar power to influence like, i.e. the state applied by imitation may produce a similar state in the victim. The second principle depends on the belief that things that have been once in connection will never lose their material characteristics if separated.

[2] Hayes 1972, 387–388, Fig. 86.
[3] Hayes 1972, 393.
[4] For more information about the identification of magic and its explanation see Luck 1985, 3–7.
[5] Frazer 1963, 11–14.

So, a dismembered part or organ of a human or animal body will retain intrinsic qualities which belonged to that body. By applying certain practices over this organ or part, the whole body will be affected positively or negatively according to the will of the operator or the magician. Regarding the nature of magic, there are two kinds: beneficent magic and malignant or aggressive magic. The functions of beneficent magic are manifold, such as protection, healing, divination, etc., as likewise are the functions of malignant magic, such as seduction, cursing, sending nightmares and inflicting injuries of every sort.[6]

The use of clay, wax and animal fats for modeling human or animal figures falls with other aspects under imitative magic, especially for aggressive purposes. These figures were made to adjure and invoke gods and demons, whose spirits dwell within them and fulfill the objectives of the magician. It is thought that there is a relationship between the figures and the people they represent. So, any harm inflicted on these figures will be imparted by the supernatural powers and accordingly, inflicted on people.[7]

The reddish color in wax is extremely significant for evil magic. Seth—the god of evil—was red-haired. The statues expressing the evil functions of Seth and Apep were made red in color. In some Greco-Roman magical papyri, spells and invocations addressed to Seth were written in red ink.[8] Such color was considerably effective in manipulating aggressive magic.

As early as the third dynasty, Egyptian tradition provided us with the earliest example of the use of figures to perform magic. The Westcar papyrus narrated a certain story about the manipulation of a wax figure in witchcraft.[9] A wife of a high official named Aba-Aner fell in love with a soldier. She used to invite him to a cabin in the garden of her house to spend the day with him. At the end of the day the lover used to bathe in the river. The steward of the mansion told his master about this affair. Aba-Aner made a wax model of a crocodile and ordered his steward to immerse it into the water while the lover was bathing. As soon as the wax model was submerged

[6] Preisendanz et al. 1928–1941, II, 66–67.
[7] Budge 1971, 65–66; 95–98.
[8] Pinch 1994, 79; Wilkinson 1994, 106–107.
[9] Erman 1890, 7–8.

into the water, it turned into a life-size living crocodile and killed the man.

In the Middle Kingdom, wax was commonly used for magical purposes. It was used as a material for the early models of the Ushapti statuettes and the sons of Horus, which had magical characteristics. Normally, it was used for aggressive functions. Despite its connotation as a symbol of the renewal of life, it symbolizes annihilation and destruction.[10] In the New Kingdom, magic was applied in a conspiracy to dethrone Ramses III (1186–1154 BC). The conspirators made amulets and wax figurines of men and recited words of power. These figurines would cause men to be paralyzed.[11] Yet, one of the native Egyptian kings of the late period was an accomplished magician. Nectanebo (360–343 BC) was clever at all magical practices. He used to fight his enemies in a certain chamber at his palace. He made wax figurines of his soldiers and lined them up against the wax soldiers of his enemies. After he recited magical formulas and incantations and invoking gods and demons, all the soldiers came to life. In the ensuing battle he defeated his enemies.[12]

As for the Greeks, the earliest references to magic and magical spells came in Homer's works.[13] Traditions of the Classical period indicated that wax figurines were used in magical practices to serve aggressive purposes. Plato spoke about wax figurines that were fastened on doors and placed on tombstones and at crossroads.[14] Several wax effigies of bound persons have been found in various cities in Greece inside lead boxes accompanied with curse tablets, dating from the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[15] A magical wax figurine is made by Simaetha to secure the love of Delphis in the Idylls of Theocritus.[16] Magical practices were referred to abundantly in Roman traditions.[17] It was believed that Germanicus (15 BC–19 AD) had

[10] Fuchs 1986, VI, 1088–1094; Wilkinson 1994, 102.
[11] Breasted 1906–1907, IV, 416–417.
[12] Budge 1971, 19–93.
[13] In the *Iliad*, Hera made a magical formula to direct Zeus' emotions towards her (14, 214). In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus' men were metamorphosed into animals by Circe's magic. Hermes gave him a special magical formula to save them (10, 203–47).
[14] *Laws*, XI, 12.
[15] Faraone 1991, 165–205.
[16] *Idylls*, 2. For a survey of Greek literary allusions to love magic in particular see: Faraone 1999, 5–14 and passim.
[17] Virgil, *Eclogues*, 8, 64–109; Horace, *Satires*, 1, 8.

been a victim of deadly magical operations. Tacitus informs us that under the floor of Germanicus' house, spells, curses and lead tablets with his name were found.[18] In a magical process, known from Lucian, a clay figure of Eros is brought to life and flies to bring a woman to her lover.[19]

With the advent of the Greeks to Egypt, they formed with the Egyptians the two main elements of population during the Greco-Roman period. Other diverse ethnic groups lived in Alexandria and the valley. In such polytheistic cultures with religious differences, reconciliation between these varied elements manifests itself in the reciprocated assimilation and identification of their gods. As a result, the principal divinities were accorded new attributes, and some of them enjoyed a pantheistic nature. Because magic is closely interwoven with religion, it was natural that gods with magical functions acquired more powers. The cultures and traditions of the different ethnic groups are clearly fused to constitute a synthesis of magical activities[20] which is attested by the literary sources and a large number of amulets, especially those known as gnostic, most of which came from different places in Egypt. As for Alexandria, we are at a disadvantage owing to the lack of direct evidence from its soil, but we have no reason to exclude Alexandrian society from such context. It is known that Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city that represented a crucible of diverse ethnic groups.

The magical papyri of Egypt from the Roman period betray the massive role played by magic in everyday life, for it covered a large spectrum of purposes: protective, productive and destructive. A great deal of recipes was recommended for love charms which aimed at the submission of certain persons to the desires of others or the gathering of lovers.[21] Such recipes included the use of clay or wax figurines in the operations.[22]

[18] *Annals*, 2.69.

[19] *The Lovers of Lies*, 14–18. It seems that the people of Rome exaggerated in using magical processes to the extent that certain decisions were taken to limit them. Roman authors spoke about such regulations: Dio Cassius spoke about the decree of Agrippa to expel all astronomers and fortune-tellers in 33 BC (XLIX, 43). He also spoke about Tiberius, who prohibited dealing with magicians (LVI, 25). Suetonius mentioned that magicians, especially Egyptians and Jews, were taken out of Italy (*Tiberius* 36).

[20] Neverov 1998, 467–471.

[21] Known as the ἄγωγαι, from ἄγω = to lead.

[22] Luck 1985, 92–93.

A recipe for a love charm in a magical papyrus, dating to the early fourth century AD, runs as follows.[23] Make two figurines of wax or clay of a male and a female. The male should be in military attire and hold a sword towards the neck of a kneeling female whose hands are tied behind her back. Thirteen iron pins should pierce her in various parts of her body. The figurines should be accompanied by a lead tablet with a magical formula and buried in a fresh grave of someone who died in the prime of his age or succumbed to a violent death. During the performance, magical formulas, incantations and invocations to the gods and demons should be recited. Another recipe[24] tells us to make a figurine of a dog using wax or unbaked dough. Take off the eyes of a living bat and transplant them to the dog. Pierce them with a needle. Put the figure in a new drinking pot. Put a tablet with magical spells and two crocodiles represented on it and bury it in a three-forked road. In another love charm the use of dogs is very significant. When a lover wants to have the attention of his mistress, he should make a wax figurine of a dog, eight fingers long, and write a spell on his chest. The dog should stand on a tablet also inscribed with magical spells. Next, the lover recites the spells written on both. If the dog snarls, the process will fail, and if it barks, the process will succeed.[25]

To gain more influence, figurines of human beings and animals should be buried close to or inside a fresh grave of people who died prematurely or violently in battlefields. There, the excited spirits of the dead who hover around may give power to the process, in addition to the powers of the chthonic deities.[26] Occasionally, these figurines could be dropped in a river or a well. In this case they will be unavailable, so their effects last for an indefinite time.[27] Ceremonial rites and spell recitals were performed over the figurines to give them power.

A clay figurine in the Louvre Museum dated to the third century AD (figure 6)[28] shows a woman with her arms tied behind her back. She is pierced with nails in her head, eyes, ears, mouth, chest and

[23] Preisendanz et al. 1928–1941, I, 83–87.
[24] Preisendanz et al. 1928–1941, I, 167–168.
[25] Budge 1971, 96–97.
[26] Bonner 1950, 104.
[27] Van der Leeum 1948, 395–397.
[28] Pinch 1994, Fig. 48.

genitals. The figurine was discovered inside a pot together with a lead lamella on which a Greek love charm is inscribed. The charm is an invocation of various deities like Thoth, Anubis, Antinoos and the spirits of the dead.

Transfixing the body with pins or nails expresses restraining and paralyzing both in love affairs and in protection against evil. It is still in practice in modern Egypt. To resist the harmful effect of the evil eye, a doll or a piece of paper cut into the shape of a human being is pierced with pins while reciting a spell against the evil eye of so and so. It is noteworthy that the idea of binding normally expresses captivity and submission. But in magic it also signified restraining the desired person to captivate him in love affairs or, in some other cases to prevent him from harming others.[29]

The *lamellae* or curse tablets were usually associated with figurines used in aggressive magic. They were made of various materials, especially lead and bronze.[30] They were inscribed with magical formulas and symbols. They appeared in Greece in the fifth century BC, but were used commonly in the Roman Imperial period.[31] The rectangular cut in the pot of our ensemble was deliberately made to contain the curse tablet or *lamella*, which is, unfortunately, missing. Another wax figurine in the British Museum dating from the Roman period[32] has strands of human hair inserted in the navel and a papyrus scrap with an effaced spell inserted in the back.

It is quite apparent that our wax figurines were intended to achieve some sort of aggressive magic. Compared to the above mentioned examples they can not be taken as a love charm. In love charms only the desired person is represented bound. If both persons are represented, it is expected that they should be embracing each other. In Munich, there are two wax figurines[33] of a man and a woman embracing each other. They were found under a pot accompanied by a love charm papyrus in which the spirits of the dead and the gods of the underworld were invoked by the man to secure the love of the woman.

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[29] Faraone 1991, 165–205 and pls.; Faraone and Obbink (eds.) 1991, 3–32.

[30] Some bronze *lamellae* with love charms have been found in Oxyrhynchus, dating to the third century BC: see Guerand 1935–1937, II, 201–206.

[31] *Tabellae* (or *lamellae*) *defixionum* from 'defigere' meaning 'to fix'. Van der Leeum 1948, 395–397.

[32] Aly 1999, 43 Fig. 20.

[33] Brashear 1992, 79–109.

The presence of the jackal—which is normally confounded with the dog—is not analogous to the dogs of love charms. It is here attacking both persons. The ensemble was uncovered at the cemetery of ancient Cynopolis, the abode of Anubis. The use of the jackal as an anthropophagous animal may be significant in relation to him. Anubis was one of the important gods who were invoked in magical activities to give spells power.[34] He appeared on several magical amulets as a magical deity.[35] But it is not Anubis—as a god—who attacks the victims.

As no pins are fixed, we have here another type of aggressive magic. The only possible interpretation could be an act of punishment or revenge, connected with a certain relationship between the man and the woman. The erect genital organ of the man as a sign of virility and the cavity in the woman's abdomen are very significant; the magic here divides lovers according to the principle of 'Similia Similibus.' The intended result is not only binding and restraining but also torturing and killing. Hence, there are three possible explanations:

1. A man loved a woman who rejected him. He decided to undermine her marital life by killing her husband and evacuating from her womb any possible fetus or causing injury to her womb to eliminate fertility.
2. A sterile woman, being jealous of the fertility of another, used a magical process to disable her capability of conception.
3. A husband discovered the unfaithfulness of his wife, and decided to cause her to miscarry and to kill her lover. He might also decide to kill both.

Owing to the lack of *lamella* and any parallel archaeological testimony of wax figures, a comparison to amulets will be informative in this regard. The magical amulets of Greco-Roman Egypt bear some mutilated images that are supposed to produce the same effect on the victims.

One example accompanied by an explanatory inscription, a mummy pierced with three pins in the head, is represented with its feet to the left on the obverse of a black and red banded jasper (figure 7).[36]

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[34] For the invocations of Anubis see: Bonner 1950, 24, 26, 31, 40, 41 and passim.
[35] Bonner 1950, 257, 259, nos. 24, 36–42, pl. 2.
[36] Bonner 1950, 108–109; 278, pl. VII, no. 151.

Two inscriptions surround the figure. The inner one is magical jargon and the outer reads: ''Ημέρας γόνος Μέμνων κοίμαται.' The reverse (figure 8) bears a similar mummy but its feet are represented to right. The inner inscription reads: 'ἐγὼ ὁ ὤν' and the outer one reads: 'Φιλίππας γόνος 'Αντίπατρος κοίμαται.' These representations convey the physical effects inflicted on some mythological character onto another person through comparison. By simulation, what happened to Memnon would happen to Antipater. As Memnon son of Eos (identified with Hemera) sleeps i.e. dies, so, Antipater son of Philippa sleeps i.e. dies.

On the reverse of another amulet of red jasper (figure 9),[37] a headless and handless man is depicted standing in a frontal pose wearing a kilt and a boot. Each dismembered hand is represented beside its wrist. Blood is flowing from the neck and the wrists. An inscription surrounding the figure reads: 'αβλαναθαναλβα αβρασαξ' and in the lower field 'Ιαω.' On the obverse (figure 10) the cock-headed anguipede is represented with a whip in his right hand and a shield in his left one, in addition to a jargon inscription. In this amulet, the owner is invoking the powers of the demon Abrasax whose image is believed to be depicted on the reverse as the cock-headed anguipede,[38] and the palindromic formula 'ablanathanalba' is intended for an absolute enemy, because his name is not mentioned. Here, infliction of actual amputations on the enemy is desired.

After Christianity was officially recognized in 313 AD, its foothold in Egypt grew stronger.[39] On the other hand, the gradual retreat of pagan religion, as a result of the impact of Christianity, was not accompanied by a parallel retreat in magical practices.[40] The old traditions remained in the subconscious of people long after the christianization of Egypt.[41] For ordinary man, the rituals that proved to be effective in the past remained effective in his time.[42] Thus, apart from the public cult, an undercurrent of ancient beliefs and practices remained resilient in the hearts of even the pious Christians

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[37] Bonner 1950, 110–111; 272, pl. VII, no. 152.

[38] Bonner 1950, 123–139.

[39] The Christians were estimated to be 20% of the population of Egypt at the beginning of the fourth century, and by the beginning of the fifth they reached 80%. See Bagnall 1993, 281.

[40] Frankfurter 1998, 12–18.

[41] Fodor (ed.) 1992, 185–187.

[42] Janowitz 2001, 55.

who acknowledged the power of magic and magicians.[43] The Christian demonology inherited the pagan one. Magic was used for the same purposes. The ancient tools of magic, i.e. amulets and spells, did not perish.[44] Some amulets from the fifth century combined pagan and Christian representations.[45]

Thus the ensemble of Beni Mazar provides us with a tangible proof of the spells and charms found in the papyri.[46] It also gives us an idea about the use of wax figurines in magical practices of late antiquity.

[43] Bagnall 1993, 107; 273–275. Although the church fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries, referring to the continuity of pagan religious traditions, denounced them as magical practices, they themselves replaced the magicians in their functions for repelling demons and healing. See Frankfurter 1998, 204. The oracular functions of some pagan temples resided in the churches and monasteries of the fifth century. See also Frankfurter 1998, 194.

[44] For the use of Christian amulets in the sixth century see Weitzmann (ed.) 1979, 440 no. 398.

[45] Bonner 1950, 221–228, pls. XVIII–XIX nos. 339–340, 346.

[46] Demotic magical papyri of the third, fourth and fifth centuries contained a great deal of Greek and Coptic words and names; for some examples see Griffith and Thompson 1904–1909, 1–7 and *passim*.

CHAPTER TWELVE

LATE ANTIQUE PAGAN NETWORKS FROM ATHENS TO THE THEBAID*

Giovanni Ruffini

Pagan intellectual life in the fifth and sixth centuries AD takes form around an axis comprised of Egypt, Alexandria, and Athens.[1] Authors like Damaskios provide a rich prosopographical account of pagan philosophical and literary circles from the end of the fifth century through the reign of Justinian.[2] The chief characters in our story, Damaskios, Isidore, Ammonios, and so forth, all spent time in or had extensive connections to both Alexandria and Athens, and provided crucial links between the pagan intellectual communities in Egypt and Greece. Damaskios himself was a *diadochos*, or successor, at the Platonic Academy in Athens, and not the first with extensive Alexandrian contacts. Proclus, another *diadochos* whose life we know well through the biography written by his own successor, Marinus of Neapolis, studied as a youth at Alexandria, where he was well acquainted with local magistrates in the 420s and 430s.[3] Equally, pagan circles in Alexandria were home to residents of Upper Egyptian cities as well: Pamprepius of Panopolis, the extended family of Flavius

* I would like to thank Professor Roger Bagnall, Jason Governale, and Adam Kushner for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and Professor William Harris for the opportunity to speak before the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean and edit these proceedings with him.

[1] See Rémondon 1952, who calls our circle 'un groupe de jeunes fanatiques' (65), Saffrey 1954, and more recently, von Haehling 1980, Fowden 1982, 42 ff., Blumenthal 1993, Athanassiadi 1993, and Haas 1997, Chapter Five.

[2] Athanassiadi 1999 provides the most recent discussion and attempt at reconstruction of the fragmentary Damaskian *Philosophical History* or *Life of Isidore*. Citations of Damaskios herein follow her numbering. Other work on Damaskios includes Asmus 1909, Asmus 1910, and von Haehling 1980; Strömberg 1946 mostly concerns himself with the nature of the philosopher's thought, and dismisses his biographical material for its occasionally 'coarse, infantile, even tasteless stories evidently told in good faith' (188). Indeed.

[3] See Marinus, *Vita Procli* 8 and *PLRE* 2.915–919.

Horapollon 'the Soul-Destroyer,' and so forth. One of the instructors of Proclus, a grammarian named Orion, could even claim descent from an ancient Egyptian priestly caste.[4] These examples—particularly the presence of Upper Egyptians in these social networks—suggest that Egypt and Greece were part of an Hellenic cultural unity functioning through the mediation of Alexandria.

Much work on these pagan intellectual circles is left to be done. Certainly, a century after Damaskios, the violent shattering of the empire's unity by Persian and Arab invasions gave birth to an entirely new world. But pagan Egypt and pagan Greece had started to part ways long before. Scholars have attributed some of this process to differences in philosophical approach,[5] and differences in personality between key players.[6] Lacking from this conversation, to the best of my knowledge, has been a close interrogation of the social structures involved. Were Alexandria's pagan elites more socially connected to those in Greece, or those in Upper Egypt? What social groups or divisions existed within the larger sphere of pagan elites? What social connections mediated between those groups, and do those connections help clarify some of the problems surrounding the crisis and ultimate disintegration of this larger network?

This paper is an exploration of the potential for using social network analysis to approach questions of this kind.[7] This form of analysis, standard now for over a generation in sociology and anthropology, has yet to find much of a home in studies of the ancient world.[8] The utility of social network analysis in late antique Egypt in particular will be immediately obvious upon closer investigation. Network theorists start with a specific social body—workers on a factory floor in Africa, power-brokers in a Maltese village—and reduce that body to numbers in a grid. Using this approach, we can represent social connections as a large cluster of binary numbers, zeroes to represent absent or potential social links, and ones to represent socials connections we know actually exist. This sort of data set is suscep-

[4] Marinus, *Vita Procli* 8 and *PLRE* 2.812.

[5] See *e.g.* Cameron 1969, 9 for philosophical differences between Alexandria and Athens, and 27 ff. for Alexandrian philosophical insufficiency in comparison to Athens.

[6] For some of the common explanations based on personality, see below, note 28.

[7] Important works in the field include: Boissevain 1974; Boissevain and Mitchell 1973; Wasserman and Faust 1994; Watts 1999.

[8] For some worthy exceptions, see note 10 below.

tible to a wide array of quantitative tools which help us answer all kinds of questions about the structure of that particular social network.

In recent years, social network theory has entered popular discourse thanks to John Guare's play, *Six Degrees of Separation*, and the movie based upon it. Both make use of the cliché that every man, woman, and child on this planet is on average some six degrees of social connection away from everyone else, from the Wall Street stockbroker to the average African bushman. Hence, social network analysis has often come to be called 'small world theory,' and it is standard for network analysts to ask how connected their network is. There are two extremes: one, a very dense social network, in which everyone is connected to everyone else, and thus, one in which very few degrees of separation exist between each member of the network, and the other, a low-density network, in which relatively few connections exist, and thus, one in which more degrees of separation exist on average between each member of the network.

Density is, according to the standard definition, 'the number of links that actually exist expressed as a proportion of the maximum number of links that could possibly exist.'[9] In other words, networks with high density are networks in which nearly everyone knows everyone else. Sociologists argue that a dense network facilitates information flow, and breaks down social hierarchies, because no single individual serves as a central mediator between every other member of the group. Social network analysts like to ask about density, about degrees of separation, and about other structural features of a network because the answers can reveal where the social power is in the network. The answers can help explain alliances and factionalization within large groups. They can help explain who is popular and who is not, why certain decisions are taken and others are not. The computer programs available to network analysts can be modified to ask a wide variety of questions, but at the very least they can use this data to identify clusters or cliques within each network, and to rank members of that network according to their connectivity.

To date, there are only a small handful of learned articles employing social network analysis on ancient topics.[10] One such article, by

[9] Quoting Clark (see following note) 83. For a more formal mathematical treatment of the subject, see Wasserman and Faust 101–103.

[10] The two most useful are Alexander and Danowski 1990 and Clark 1991. Also

Alexander and Danowski, analyzes a specific set of Ciceronian letters and tabulates a number of variables relating to Cicero's correspondents, including their social status and gender. The results led them to conclude that senators and knights were not separate social blocks, but in fact shared considerable structural similarity in late Republican society. They emphasized that this result would not surprise a modern Roman historian, pointing out that the value of their work lay in the way it brought a new quantitative method to bear on an old debate. Another article, by Elizabeth Clark, takes a look at the key players surrounding Rufinus and Jerome in the Origenist controversy at the start of the fifth century. By drawing attention to the surprisingly high density of the social networks involved, and by showing how this facilitated an escalation in the intensity of the Origenist debate, Clark is able to argue that the structural aspects of the theologians' social networks had as much to do with the outcome of the controversy as any of the actual theological issues themselves.

Can we develop a similar approach for late antique Egypt? The amount of data available is nearly limitless. We could use this approach on Oxyrhynchite landholders, the civic elite of Aphrodito, or the desert fathers of Nitria and Scetis.[11] With our pagan philosophical networks, it is hard to know how to limit our data-set. As a starting point, I will include friends, family, and immediate associates of those philosophers associated with the schools of Alexandria and Athens in the second half of the fifth century.[12] This definition pro-

of interest here is John Chow's study of 1 Corinthians (Chow 1992) and social networks in Corinth, although the nature of his subject leads him to avoid the sorts of quantitative network analyses I am dealing with here. See also Harland forthcoming and Hezser 1997.

[11] At least the first two of these topics will receive extensive treatment through network analysis in my dissertation, currently in progress at Columbia University.

[12] For the sake of simplicity, I propose to use only those figures making an appearance in Damaskios. For a discussion of the possible biases this approach may cause, see below, 255. I have chosen not to include material from Zacharias Scholasticus's *Vita Severi*, despite the obvious relevance, for several reasons. Most significantly, his perspective is fundamentally that of a Christian without a fine eye for the social nuances in these pagan circles. For instance, he several times treats Horapollon, Heraiscuos, Asclepiodotus, Ammonios, and Isidore as a unit. This approach, while revealing in itself, is not helpful for teasing the social connections from each of these individuals. I have on one or two occasions included figures or links between figures not directly attested in Damaskios, but which emerge (*e.g.* in the annotations to Athanassiadi 1999) from closer analysis of the Damaskian text.

duces a network of moderate size, some 80 to 100 names, depending on how generous one is with the criteria.[13] It produces all the names we would expect, especially the *diadochoi* or holders of the Platonic succession at the Athenian Academy: Marinus, Proclus, Isidore, Damaskios, and so on. It also produces some surprises: for example, Severus, the consul of 470, who spent much of his political career in Rome, but retired in disgust to Alexandria, where he kept the company of pagan philosophers and even played host to a visiting group of Indian Brahmans.[14]

Before performing social network analysis on this data set, I will present a brief survey of the group biography.[15] Fifth-century intellectual life at Alexandria was quite vibrant: Damaskios, whose own literary output makes him an important part of our story, studied rhetoric, astronomy, and the works of Plato, from Theon and Ammonios respectively. Ammonios also taught geometry and Aristotle, holding the municipal chair at Alexandria for over a generation. His interest in philosophy was a family affair: his father Hermeias before him is considered one of the giants of the Alexandrian school.[16] Many of the key figures in Alexandria left there for or had come there from Athens, where the successors to Plato's chair at the Academy kept the fires of philosophy burning into the sixth century. Indeed, Alexandria's prominence as a route to the sucession at one time raised fears that the succession might pass from Athens altogether.[17] Simplicius, for instance, studied under Ammonios in Alexandria before working under Damaskios in Athens. Isidore, who himself taught Damaskios, seems to have taken a couple of trips back and forth in the 470s and 480s.[18] Nor was this strictly a Graeco-Egyptian concern: Salustius and Damaskios both originally came from Syria, and

[13] Nor is this a problematically small size for our purposes. A number of the studies included in *e.g.* Wasserman and Faust (summarized pp. 62–66) as methodological exemplars concern themselves with smaller groups: thirty-two 20th century sociologists, twenty-six *CEO*s and their spouses, and so on.

[14] *PLRE* 2.1005–1006, Fl. Messius Phoebus Severus 19.

[15] For the modern scholarship on what follows, see above, note 1.

[16] Tarrant 1.

[17] Damaskios *Fr.* 98.

[18] In this respect, *PLRE* 2.628–631 *s.v.* Isidorus 5 needs slight correcting, for its neglect of the fact that Isidore must have returned to Alexandria in the 480s, in order for him to have been able to flee *from* there with Damaskios in 488: for the corrective, see Athanassiadi 1999, 34 note 47.

a number of key players end up in or travel through Antioch at various points in their careers.

The family of Flavius Horapollon—prominent among the native-born Egyptians of the age—was one of the most important clusters in the Alexandrian social network of the late fifth century.[19] His grandfather, also Horapollon, earned renown as a grammarian in Alexandria and Constantinople in the days of Theodosius II. This elder Horapollon had come originally from Phenebythis near Panopolis, the home town of the poet Cyrus who was so successful in the imperial capital in the same period.[20] He had two sons, Flavius Horapollon's father Asclepiades, and Heraiscus.[21] Asclepiades had a reputation for spending most of his time in Egypt, and acquired as a result a considerable body of knowledge about Egyptian theology and ancestral rites.[22] One product of this knowledge was a treatise on ancient Egyptian history, which Damaskios claims covered a period of over thirty-thousand years.[23] The younger Horapollon himself wrote a book on the interpretation of hieroglyphs.[24]

The crisis of the 480s—which Damaskios calls 'the Panopolitan misfortune'[25]—provides us with the most important series of events in the group's history. The 'misfortune' arrived in 482 in the form of Pamprepius of Panopolis, a flamboyant, high-profile Egyptian who came to Alexandria touting the resurgence of paganism.[26] Pamprepius ultimately joined the revolt of Illus and Leontius against the emperor

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[19] For brief summaries, see *e.g.* Fowden 1982, 46 ff. and Bowersock 1990, 60–61, both ultimately drawing on Maspero 1914.

[20] Horapollon: *PLRE* 2.569–570, Damaskios *Fr.* 120A. Cyrus: *PLRE* 2.336–339, Cameron 1982. Phenebythis, a toparchy capital in the late third century: see *P.Panop.Beatty*, p. xxxvii and Calderini-Daris s.v.

[21] Asclepiades 2: *PLRE* 2.158–159, Damaskios *Fr.* 72 & 76. Heraiscus: *PLRE* 2.543–544, Damaskios *Fr.* 72 & 76.

[22] Damaskios *Fr.* 72D: Ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπιπλεῖον ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις βιβλίοις ἀνατραφεὶς ἀκριβέστερος ἦν ἀμφὶ θεολογίαν τὴν πάτριον.

[23] *Ibid.*: Καὶ συγγραφὴν δὲ ἔγραψην Αἰγυπτίων ὠγυγίων πράγματα περιέχουσαν οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἐτῶν ἢ τριῶν μυριάδων, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων ὀλίγῳ. See also Damaskios *Princ.* 3.167.

[24] On which, see George Boas 1950 trans., Bowersock 1990, 56, and Damaskios *Fr.* 74, which might possibly derive from Horapollon's hieroglyphic lore.

[25] Athanassiadi's 1993 rendering (page 17) is somewhat loose, but right to the point. The original (her *Fr.* 110B): 'τοῦ πανικοῦ δυστυχήματος.'

[26] Rémondon 1952, 66 calls him 'le plus audacieux du moins de cette génération.' For more, see Asmus 1913, von Haehling 1980, 92–93, Athanassiadi 1993, 19, and *PLRE* 2.825–828.

Zeno from 484 to 488. When the revolt suffered military collapse, Zeno himself promptly dispatched an envoy to Alexandria to put the pagan community there under scrutiny, and in some cases, aggressive persecution. The community crumbled under pressure. Some died in the persecution. Others fled. Horapollon, the much-feared 'Soul Destroyer', converted to Christianity as his personal life fell to ruin. Ammonios managed to maintain his position, and indeed improve upon it, some have suggested by walking right into the bishop's office to seek some sort of back-room deal.[27]

I have suggested that social network analysis has explanatory strength, that it has a certain amount of predictive and diagnostic power when it comes to analyzing factions, ruptures, political schisms, and so forth. Take the end of our crisis, the persecutions of 488. Scholars have typically and naturally enough sought explanation for each individual's response to this crisis by having recourse to specific personality traits: Isidore's grace under pressure, Ammonios's inherently treacherous spirit, Horapollon's shock at his wife's betrayal.[28]

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[27] Modern scholarship has proposed what are in essence two separate supposed Ammonian accommodation deals: see Saffrey 1954, 400–401, Cameron 1969, 14, Athanassiadi 1993, 22, and Athanassiadi 1999, 30 ff.

In the first, and less vicious, it is sometimes assumed that Ammonios tailored his philosophical teachings to appease Christian sentiment, or indeed, might have succumbed to coerced conversion. This theory of Ammonian accommodation is weak, with little in its favor: see Verrycken's arguments in 1990, 226 ff. and Blumenthal's, most recently in 1993, 320 ff. Their refutations are, I think, becoming the new orthodoxy: Tarrant (in Jackson, et al., 2–3) finds philosophical appeasement a 'relevant' idea, but admits the matter is open to dispute. Athanassiadi 1999, while taking no notice of Blumenthal's work, cites Verrycken and shares his opinion on philosophical issues.

But Athanassiadi 1999, 30 ff. is the leading proponent of the second, and more extreme, theory of Ammonian accommodation, one considerably hardened in comparison to her relatively mild remarks of 1993, 22. She voices the 'disturbing suspicion that . . . Ammonius was out to destroy his colleagues,' and states that 'we will never know' whether 'Ammonius betrayed the hiding place of colleagues and pupils.' Surely this is the late antique equivalent of asking a defendant when he stopped beating his wife.

[28] Horapollon: Following the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, Athanassiadi 1993, 20–21 proposes that 'the mockery implicit in his [wife's] appalling betrayal . . . must have struck at the very core of his belief.' For evidence on that betrayal from an unusual source, see *P.Cair.Masp.* 67295, a copy from the archives of Dioskoros of Aphrodito of a petition Horapollon wrote in his own name, describing his marital difficulties, appealing for the right to retain property his wife has seized, and from which she has taken his paternal savings. Maspero supposes (1914, page 175) that Dioskoros found the document in the same office to which it had been submitted, three-quarters of a century before.

Athanassiadi, whose work on reconstructing the Damaskian fragments has been crucial to this project, puts it the following way:

> The persecution provided people with a unique opportunity to give free rein to their professional jealousy: the informers on Aphthonius, Ammonius, and Agapius must be some of those who took advantage of the situation in order to attack their successful rivals.[29]

I would like to suggest that network theory provides us with alternative and in some cases more plausible explanations for the behavior of each actor in this moment of crisis.

I have mentioned that density measures the number of actual social connections in a social network against that network's potential.[30] Put another way, it measures the probability that any random member of the network is connected to any other random member.[31] Elizabeth Clark's battling theologians shared social networks of 75–85% density, which she argues accounted for the considerably heated nature of the debates. Our pagan philosophical networks, which are in my opinion equally well documented, are considerably less dense. Using a computer program called UCINET, we can determine that these hundred or so pagan philosophers comprise a network of just under 3% density, an extremely low figure.[32]

Isidore: Athanassiadi 1993, 21 attributes his behavior in the moments before his flight to his 'incredible sang-froid,' rather than follow the lead of Damaskios and accept the obvious—his eccentricity and naivete—as the correct answer.

Ammonios: Rémondon 1952, 77 says he made his accommodation 'par besoin d'argent.' For Athanassiadi's more strident opinions on Ammonios, see above, note 27. Asmus 1913, 342 sees Ammonios as part of a more general trend of betrayals: 'Die Klasse der Treulosen ist durch Horapollon, durch Ammonios, durch einen gewissen Leontios und schon vor diesen durch Ermanrich, den Verräter des Severianos, vertreten.'

[29] Athanassiadi 1999, 291 note 340.

[30] See above, 243.

[31] For this, and more on the remarks that follow, see Niemeijer 1973, particularly 49–53.

[32] S.P. Borgatti, M.G. Everett, and L.C. Freeman, *UCINET 5.0 Version 1.00*, Natick: Analytic Technologies, 1999. For what follows, I have used UCINET's 'Density' option under the 'Network: Network Properties' menu. In each UCINET analysis performed for this paper, I have relied on the same data set, in nodelist1 format, of the social connections between all individuals described in Damaskios. For more information on this sort of data set, consult the user's guide for UCINET. An example follows:

Antony Damaskios
Archiadas Proclus Theagenes Asclepigeneia
Archiadas the Younger Eupeithius Hegias Diomedes
Asclepiades Heraiscus Horapollon Isidore

Networks this lacking in density tend to be very hierarchical, and compartmentalized. This makes them very susceptible to damage, to network fragmentation. A subgroup within our larger set, such as the members of a specific family, might easily find themselves isolated because of this low network density, in the event of the departure or death of a crucial link, a point which will become quite important further in our discussion. Equally, in the absence of powerful mediators between different groups within the network, members of a low-density network can find it extremely difficult to organize and mount resistance in the face of adversity, because the lack of strong connections between them prevents effective communication and alliance-formation. Again, a point of potential relevance to the pagan intellectual crisis of the 480s.

I have already mentioned the popularity of the notion of six degrees of separation. One aspect of so-called 'small world' analysis is measuring distance, or counting how many degrees of separation exist between Person X and Person Y in a social network. This gives us a concrete tool to establish which members of the network were better connected than the others. We may reasonably suppose that people connected to the entire network through fewer degrees of separation were in a better position socially and politically to gain influence, to be on the winning side of an argument, and to protect themselves in time of crisis.

Once again, we can make UCINET do the work for us, focusing on a small handful of philosophers of particular interest.[33] (See Table 1.) Here, rather than six degrees of separation being the norm, we find that on average some three degrees of separation stand between any given person in our network and everyone else. But certain noticeable variations stand out. Connecting to everyone in a large group in three degrees can mean a number of things: *e.g.* 1) getting almost everyone in the first degree, and picking up a few distant cousins in the second and third degrees, 2) connecting to

This format simply tells the computer that each initial name has a social connection of some kind to all of the subsequent people on the line. UCINET can take directions specifying whether those connections are one-way or symmetrical, and so forth.

[33] For what follows, I have used UCINET's 'Distance' option under the 'Network: Cohesion' menu, employing an abridged set omitting just over a dozen of the more peripheral figures included in Figure 1 below.

roughly the same number of people in each degree, or just as easily, 3) connecting to only a few people in the first degree or two, but finding those people in turn to be extremely well connected, bringing connections to everyone else in the third degree. Identifying these differences is one way to tell which of our philosophers were better connected than the others.

Table 1: Number of Social Connections at Each Degree of Separation[34]

	T = 1	T = 2	T = 3	T = 4	T = 5	T_{max}
Damaskios	22	45/67	17/84	2/86	0	4
Isidore	19	45/64	20/84	2/86	0	4
Ammonios	14	35/49	30/79	7/86	0	4
Hegias	7	41/48	33/81	5/86	0	4
Marinus	5	41/46	35/81	5/86	0	4
Heraiscus	5	37/42	39/81	4/85	1/86	5
Agapius	4	36/40	38/73	8/86	0	4
Pamprepius	6	26/32	36/68	17/85	1/86	5
Asclepiades	3	21/24	45/69	16/84	1/86	5
Hierocles	3	19/22	43/65	19/84	2/86	5
Horapollon	5	5/10	41/51	32/83	3/86	5

In the first degree, most members of the network do not stand out in any way: only Damaskios and Isidore themselves, with one exception, have exceptionally well-connected first degrees, and they are peculiar in a way I will discuss later. Our philosophers typically connect to only half a dozen of their peers in their immediate circle, or first degree. By the fourth and fifth degrees, however, nearly everyone has connected to the entire group. So it is in the second and third degrees of connectivity that we notice the subtleties. Again, Damaskios and Isidore show themselves to be better connected in the second and third degrees than other members of the network. Somewhat further behind them, and all in a cluster, are Ammonios,

[34] The columns show the number of social connections available to each person out of the total network at that particular degree of separation T out of the total connections available to that point. The average number of degrees of separation between members of this network is 3.107, the network density 2.88%. I have removed from this list a number of people not included in this discussion, and one individual, Proclus, discussion of whom I save for below, 253.

Marinus, Heraiscus, and Agapius: two Alexandrian natives, one Athenian *diadochos*, and one Upper Egyptian. The rest of the Upper Egyptians—Pamprepius, Asclepiades, and Horapollon—are much less connected in their second and third degrees, and appear much further down on our list. Ammonios, for example, is two degrees away from nearly five times as many people in the set as Horapollon, the definitive Upper Egyptian.

Another factor to examine is the maximum distance that each member of the network needs to reach everyone else. If the average number of degrees separating each person is around three, this means that many pairs are separated by only one or two degrees, and many other pairs by four, five, or six degrees. We can argue that a philosopher needing five or six degrees to connect to everyone in the network is, at least by that standard of measurement, less connected than a peer needing only three or four. Here again, the results are intriguing. Agapius and Ammonios need four steps to reach everyone in the network. So do Damaskios, Hegias, Isidore, and Marinus. So, three successors to the Academy at Athens, an Athenian nobleman, and two men we know to be native Alexandrians need only four degrees to reach everyone. But Asclepiades, Heraiscus, Horapollon, and Pamprepius—all from Upper Egypt—all need five degrees of separation to reach everyone in the network. Once again, Egypt shows itself to be not as well connected as Athens in their shared Alexandrian circles.

But we should also keep in mind that within a network, there may be multiple different paths between two members of a social set.[35] For instance, I might connect indirectly to President Bush via a former employer, an old college friend, and so on. Intuitively, we can suppose that the more such paths that exist between one person and the other members of his social set, the more structurally significant that person may be in the network as a whole. Again, UCINET lets us measure this aspect of our pagan philosophical network. In many cases, our pagans connect to each other only through one or two different paths: this is exactly what we would expect from a network with a density as low as we have already seen this to be. But there is also considerable variance here: over a dozen

[35] For what follows, I have used UCINET's 'No. of Geodesics' option under the 'Network: Cohesion' menu.

pagans in this group have ten or more different social paths connecting them to specific other members of their network.

At first glance, these hyper-connected pagans are an odd bunch.[36] With the predictable exception of several of the *diadochoi*, everyone in this particular list is a no-name, the mother or brother of someone else we might consider important. This in itself is telling: recent work in network theory has drawn attention to the 'strength of weak ties,' a structural network feature in which two or more disparate social groups are connected by otherwise unimportant figures on the outlying fringes of each distinct group.[37] Again, this analysis favors Athens over Egypt in the realm of the pagan elite. None of the top ten in this list turn out to be Upper Egyptians. Only one or two of them turn out to be living in or originally from Alexandria. Archiadas and his grandmother Asclepigeneia, herself surprisingly the second most multi-connected person in our group, are both native Athenians, and as far as we know, stayed there. Theagenes, the most connected person on this list, was an Athenian archon, and another native.[38] Other top finishers are Diomedes, an obscure figure who may have been the son of Archiadas,[39] Odaenathus the Syrian, and Hierax, an Alexandrian who appears in Athens as well. So, while our Upper Egyptians and Alexandrians may be well connected, they are not connected in as many different ways as some of their peers.

Social network analysis can also reveal members of the network whose importance we may have overlooked.[40] It is possible to use

[36] A number of possible ways to measure the output present themselves. Here, I have simply summed the total number of each person's geodesic routes to every other person in the set, and taken the highest ranking on the list, in descending order: Theagenes, Asclepigeneia, Diomedes, Plutarch, Odaenathus, Hierax, Zacharias Scholasticus, Proclus, Plutarch son of Hierius, Archiadas.

[37] Originally formulated in Granovetter 1973.

[38] Although his career did take him further afield: see *PLRE* 2.1063–1064.

[39] So Athanassiadi 1999 speculates, page 323 note 386.

[40] Indeed, a number of other network approaches are available which space constraints prevent us from exploring more fully. Consider for example the network's cutpoints. Cutpoints are the nodes or members of a network whose removal causes the disintegration of the network. (See Wasserman & Faust, 112 ff., for a more formal definition. I obtained these results through UCINET: the 'Bi-Components' option under 'Network: Regions.') A complete list of our network's cutpoints includes nearly 20% of our pagan philosophers (19 of 104), suggesting that our network is not reliant on any one individual or small group of individuals to connect all of its members. Nonetheless, those cutpoints do include all the prominent figures we would expect: Ammonios, Damaskios, Horapollon, Isidore, Pamprepius, Proclus, etc. Or consider the network's clustering coefficient, a measure from 0 to 1 of the extent

UCINET in conjunction with another computer program to generate a visual representation of our pagan network. (See Figure 1.) A first glance at this image gives some expected results: three of the nodes most obviously rich in connections prove to be Ammonios, Damaskios, and Isidore, all figures who have been present throughout this discussion. But a second glance reveals a pagan philosopher we have not yet discussed, in the heart of the chart, and very well connected: Proclus, the center of the late antique pagan world. He is better connected in the first degree than anyone else in this network, including Damaskios and Isidore.[41] This is a curious distinction to award to someone who, at the time of our network's final crisis, was already dead.[42]

This raises a number of interesting questions. Does someone's function as a social link continue after they die? Put another way, does the death of a member heighten the risk of a network's internal schism or fracture? It is possible to imagine 'reputation' as an unquantifiable ingredient in a social network, preserving indirect or imagined connections between groups once the direct links have passed away. But it is just as plausible that the death of a crucial figure might ruin the internal structure of a network, like pulling one piece from a house of cards. Two people who only knew one another because of their joint friendship with Proclus might not be inclined to maintain the connection after the death of the initial link. When we consider internal structural reasons our pagan network cracked under the strain in 488, we should remember that Proclus, the structural center of our set, had died three years before.[43]

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to which various pockets of the network overlap with various other pockets. (For a more in-depth discussion, see Watts 2003, 80–83. I obtained these results through UCINET: the 'Clustering Coefficient' option under 'Network: Network Properties.') This network's overall clustering coefficient was 0.460, a mid-range figure. Put in somewhat more approachable terms, this figure suggests that any given pagan philosopher's social connections themselves had social circles nearly 60% personally unknown to the first philosopher. This is perhaps what we would expect from social sets formed in various classrooms throughout two or three different cities.

[41] For comments on the philosophical connections between Proclus and Damaskios, see Combès 1985.

[42] See *PLRE* 2.915–919 s.v. Proclus and 2.342–343: Proclus died in April of 485, while Damaskios, our chief prosopographical source for this period, did not start writing his *Philosophical History* until over thirty years had gone by. The importance of Proclus thus had considerable staying power.

[43] His death is typically considered a downturn for philosophy at Athens: see *e.g.* Saffrey 1954, 397, Cameron 1969, 27, and Athanassiadi 1999, 39, 44.

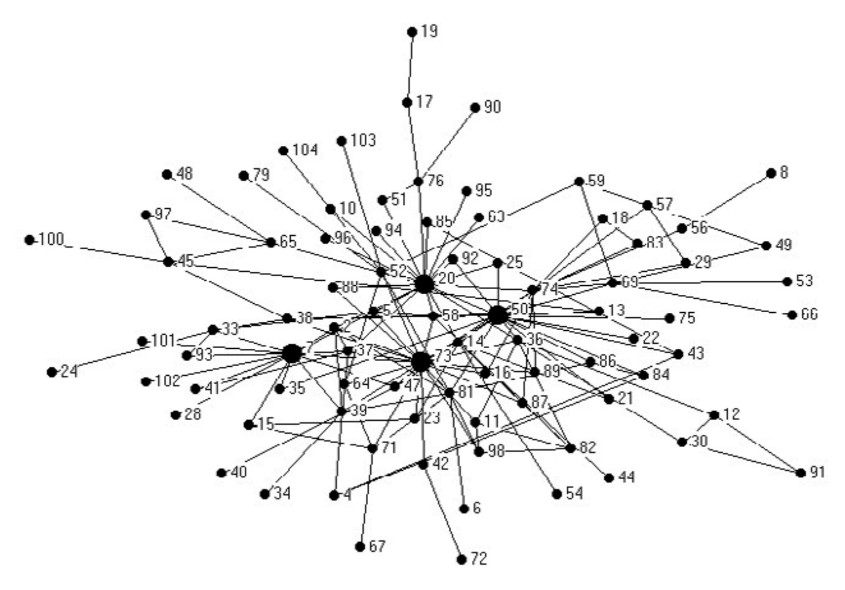


Figure 1: *Alexandria's Late Antique Pagans.*

Key

Note: Isolated nodes and pairs have been deleted from this figure. The four nodes discussed in the text (#7, 20, 50, & 73) have been artificially enlarged. Figure generated using UCINET's NetDraw 0.63.

1. Acamatius
2. Aedesia
3. Aedesius
4. Aegyptus
5. Agapius
6. Ammonianus
7. Ammonius
8. Anthemius
9. Anthusa
10. Antony
11. Archiadas
12. Archiadas the Younger
13. Asclepiades
98. Asclepigeneia
14. Asclepiodotus
15. Asterius
16. Athenodorus
17. Auxentius
18. Basilides
19. Callinicus
20. Damaskios
21. Damiane
91. Diomedes
22. Domna
23. Domninus
24. Domnus
25. Dorus
26. Epidaurius
27. Epiphanius
28. Erythrius
29. Eunoius
30. Eupeithius
31. Euprepius
95. Eusebius
103. Eustephius
32. Generosa
33. Gessius
34. Gregory
35. Harpocras
36. Hegias
37. Heliodorus
38. Heraiscus
39. Hermeias
40. Hesychius
41. Hierax
42. Hierius
43. Hierocles
44. Hilarius
45. Horapollo
46. Hypatia
47. Iacobus
48. Ianuarius
49. Illus
50. Isidore
101. John Philoponus
51. Julian
52. Lachares
53. Leontius
54. Maras
55. Marcella
56. Marcellinus
57. Marcellus
58. Marinus
59. Marsus
60. Maximinus
61. Metrophanes
62. Moschus
63. Nemesio
64. Nicholas
65. Nomus
66. Nonnus
67. Odaenathus
102. Olympiodorus
68. Olympus
99. Orion
69. Pamprepius
70. Patricius
71. Plutarch
72. Plutarch son of Hierius
73. Proclus
74. Salustius
75. Sarapio
76. Severianus
97. Severus of Antioch
78. Silvanus
94. Simplicius
79. Superianus
80. Synesius
81. Syrianus
82. Theagenes
96. Theo
83. Theocleia
92. Theodora
84. Theodote
85. Theosebius
86. Ulpian
89. Zeno
87. Zeno the Jew
90. Zeno Augustus
88. Zenodotus
93. Zacharias

By now, readers no doubt have various objections to social network methodology and the problems posed by the selectivity of our source material. We might prefer a *Philosophical History* from Ammonios or Horapollon to balance the accounts, and indeed, it may be true that reliance on Damaskios might distort our perspective somewhat. But how badly, really? It is telling that Ammonios passes Horapollon by our measures of social connectivity, despite the fact that Damaskios was very suspicious of Ammonios, and thought quite highly of Horapollon and his family.[44] After all, one cannot easily fabricate social connections where none existed, especially when writing for an audience that might well know better.[45] It is always true that recovery of more evidence might change the picture. But again, by how much? New evidence might change our calculation of this network's density from 3% to 5%, but the nature of the math involved would demand the discovery of hundreds of new connections before any serious change arose.[46] And the evidence that does survive, while no doubt missing a connection here and there, probably does highlight the most significant of the original links. New evidence might uncover occasional guests at Horapollon's dinner parties, but it will not reveal his long-lost best friend.

Some people will not find my confidence in this matter very reassuring, and will want a more robust methodological solution. In

[44] See above, pp. 245–247, for the social connections. As for Damaskios, as with everyone else, he has widely varying opinions here: on the brilliance of Ammonios, *Fr.* 57C; but for his poor political behavior, see *Fr.* 78E, and particularly, *Fr.* 118B. For a comparably split verdict on Horapollon, see *Fr.* 117B–C & 120B–C. But Asclepiades and Heraiscus, his father and uncle, both get rave reviews: *Fr.* 72 & 76.

[45] Blumenthal 1993, 317 reaches comparable conclusions. Arguing that from Ammonios on, Alexandria served as instructor to Athens, and not vice versa as stated in Cameron 1969, 27, he dismisses source-bias as an explanation by pointing out that Damaskios and Simplicius are more 'Athenian' in perspective than Alexandrian.

[46] The denominator (the number of potential links) in any density ratio (defined above, page 243 and note 9) is expressed as the product of the number of members in the network times the number minus one. In our case, this makes the denominator nearly 10,000. The numerator is twice the number of actual links in the network, which in our case, depending on how strict we are in evaluating our evidence, will not be more than a few hundred. Thus, each additional fifty links in the network's graph would increase its density by one percent. For our network to become as dense as (say) Elizabeth Clark's theologians, we would need to uncover nearly 4000 previously undocumented social ties between members of our set. In short, the larger the network, the more difficult it is to increase its density: see Niemeijer (1973) particularly 54.

response I would make the following proposal. For these pagan elites, we lack private letters and archives of the individual players. Instead, one or two voices speak for the collective. Let us compare the results against a network for which we have both the individual voices and various composite works, namely, the desert fathers. We can conduct social network analysis first on the *Apophthegmata Patrum*—in essence, the individual testimony of each father—and then add to that data the monastic equivalent of Damaskios: testimony from the *Lausiac History* and the *Historia Monachorum*. While it is too early to discuss full results, my initial forays into the desert fathers with the tools of UCINET suggest that combining data from two separate literary genres does not produce a picture significantly different from that gleaned from a single literary work taken in isolation.[47]

At any rate, various problems and speculation aside, we have come to a number of interesting conclusions. Given the limitations of the surviving data, social network analysis permits us to propose that the inherent structure of Alexandria's late antique pagan philosophical network brought Alexandria closer to Athens than it did to Egypt. In terms of who was linked most closely to the largest percentage of the network, only one of the top five contenders is from Upper Egypt, the rest from Alexandria and Athens. In terms of who had the fewest degrees separating him from the rest of the set, no one from Upper Egypt even places in the top six. In terms of who enjoyed the largest number of routes connecting them to different parts of the network, the results point predominantly to Athenians. So what can we make of this? Maybe the death of Proclus weakened the links between the three points on our axis, contributing to the crisis of 488. Social network analysis might permit us to replace explanations based on personality with one or two of the following structural proposals. Horapollon converted because he had nowhere left to

[47] In other words, if the evidence of the *Apophthegmata* generates a network emphasizing the centrality of Macarius and Arsenius, adding to that data set the evidence of the monastic narrative historians will not suddenly emphasize two different fathers, but will only heighten the network importance of Macarius and Arsenius. Important players will naturally appear in both types of works, and appear more important as a result. This is an example of the so-called 'rich get richer' phenomenon which has been attracting much attention in network theory of late: see e.g. Barabási 2002, 79–92. This phenomenon strengthens my earlier argument that taking the evidence of Damaskios in isolation provides us with a picture of this pagan philosophical network which would remain generally unchanged with the addition of further evidence.

turn. Damaskios and Isidore left Alexandria because they knew they were better connected elsewhere. Ammonios stayed, and succeeded, because the structure of his personal network was strong enough to support it. And his supposed bargain with the ruling party? It may be that he seized the moment because he spoke from a position of strength.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ISLAND OF PHAROS IN MYTH AND HISTORY

Mostafa el-Abbadi

The island of Pharos featured prominently twice in the legends of the ancient world. First in the amusing episode in Homer's Odyssey where the poet recounts the encounter between Menelaus and Proteus, a minor sea god, at the latter's abode on the island of Pharos. Second, in connection with Alexander's desire to found a new city in Egypt to be named after him. Needless to say, both cases have long attracted the attention of scholars.[1]

Homer's inclusion of the small island of Pharos into the mainstream of heroic tradition gave it both significance and historical interest. We are told that when Menelaus returned to his home, he received, as a guest in his palace, Telemachus, who was seeking news of his father, Odysseus. Menelaus recounted to his guest how, during his hazardous journey from Troy, he was forced by contrary winds to land on the island of Pharos, which he described in this manner:

> There is an island called Pharos in the rolling sea in front of Aigyptos, a day's sail out for a well-shaped vessel with a roaring wind astern. In this island is a harbour with good anchorage where sailors come to draw their water from a well . . . it was here that the gods kept me idle for twenty days (Od. 4.354–9).

The description of Pharos as being a 'whole one day's distant from Aigyptos' has embarrassed Homeric interpreters ever since antiquity, as the island was known to have been only *one mile* off the coast of Egypt. Strabo, a great defender of Homer's geography, tried to

[1] O'Nolan 1960, 129–138, surveys the evidence, and compares the seals of Proteus and the Biblical story of the disaster suffered by Pharaoh and his army, who were changed into sea creatures when crossing the Red Sea, pp. 134 ff.; Plass 1969, 104–108, analyzes Proteus's prophecy concerning the fates of Menelaus and Odysseus; cf. Heubeck et al. 1988, 217 ff.; on Alexander and Pharos, see Fraser 1972, 17–20; El-Abbadi, 1992, 16–17, 33–36.

explain it away by suggesting that the silt of the Nile must have filled up a considerable portion of the coast facing the island in the intervening centuries.[2] The cause of embarrassment lay in the meaning of the name Aigyptos in Homer, which traditionally meant the land of Egypt. Thus many translations, including that of the Loeb edition quoted above, rendered Homer's Aigyptos as Egypt. But, it was soon realized that Homer used Aigyptos in two ways: when in the feminine, he meant the land of Egypt, whereas when he mentioned it in the masculine, he designated thereby the *river* of Egypt, for the appellation 'Nile' was unknown to Homer.[3] Consequently, Rieu rendered a more sensible translation of the same passage in his masterly Penguin edition as follows: 'an island called Pharos in the rolling sea off the mouth of the Nile, a day's sail out.'[4] Thus it became obvious that what was meant was the Canopic branch of the Nile, which is some thirty kilometers distance from Pharos, about one day's sail with favourable wind.

Menelaus goes on to relate that Pharos was the abode of 'the immortal seer, Proteus the Egyptian, the Old Man of the Sea who knows the depths of every sea and owes allegiance to Poseidon.' He had great powers of prophecy and could change his own shape not only into 'every sort of beast on earth, but into water and blazing fire' (lines 417–8) in order to escape being detected.[5] Yet it was Proteus' daughter, Eidothea, who had pity on Menelaus and instructed him on how to get hold of her father until he would give in and answer his enquiries. Menelaus would then find out from him the cause of his delay by the gods and find out how he could return safely to his home (lines 460–470). In this way, Menelaus learned from Proteus that he had no chance of reaching his own country before he had sailed up 'the heaven-fed waters of the river Aigyptos and made ceremonial offerings to the immortal gods' (477–9). This, Menelaus dutifully carried out (580–6).

Thus, Menelaus's accidental landing on Pharos developed into a

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[2] Strabo I.37 & 55.

[3] A fact that was observed in antiquity, Arrian, *Anab.* 6.1.2. The name *Neilos* was first used by Hesiod, *Theogony*, 338.

[4] Rieu 1945, 72.

[5] The image of Proteus as self-changer acquired literary popularity with subsequent classical authors, notably in Plato's *Ion* 541 E, and Virgil, *Georgics* 4.387–529. Virgil changes the abode of Proteus from Pharos to Chalcidice.

visit to the land of Egypt. It is worth noting that this extended visit is amply reflected throughout the entire text of this episode. Gifts and other acquisitions from Egypt are repeatedly mentioned; for instance, we are told that while Menelaus entertained Telemachus, Helen and her ladies appeared and one of them carried her 'silver work-basket,' a gift from the wife of Polybus who lived in Egyptian Thebes 'where greatest store of wealth is laid up in men's houses' (125–7). This man (Polybus) had also given Menelaus two silver bathing tubs, two tripods and ten talents of gold (128–9). In addition to all this, his wife had given Helen beautiful gifts, a golden distaff and a basket on wheels made of silver and finished with a golden rim (131–2).

Besides these precious gifts, there were other valuable acquisitions obtained in Egypt. We are told that, to alleviate the sorrow of Telemachus when he heard about the misfortunes of Odysseus, Helen 'slipped a drug into the bowl in which their wine was mixed, which had the power of robbing grief and anger of their sting and banishing all painful memories . . . This powerful anodyne was one of many useful drugs which had been given to the daughter of Zeus by an Egyptian Lady, Polydamna, the wife of Thon.' Homer then explains, 'for the fertile soil of Egypt is most rich in herbs, many of which are wholesome in solution, though many are poisonous' (220–227). Homer furthermore adds, 'in medical knowledge, the Egyptian leaves the rest of the world behind' (231–232). Herodotus later on applauded the high reputation Egypt enjoyed in the medical profession in the fifth century BC.[6]

We may briefly mention here that the association of Proteus with Pharos and Egypt was once questioned when Virgil, many centuries later, echoed Homer's image of Proteus in almost all its details, with the one exception that Proteus had his home not in Egypt, but in Pakkene in Chalcidice.[7] In spite of a certain modern bias in favour of the Roman version,[8] the historical priority of Homer as well as the prevailing Egyptian background associated with the episode, lent support to the understanding that Homer worked on an authentic tradition of the legend.

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[6] Herod. 2.84.
[7] Virgil, *Georgics* 4.388–529.
[8] O'Nolan 1960, 130 n. 1, where earlier literature is quoted.

Subsequently, the Menelaus episode in Egypt was elaborated upon and subjected to various modifications, perhaps to suit new political and intellectual attitudes of mind. As far as we know, it was the poet Stesichorus in the sixth century BC who first broached the theory that the Helen at Troy was a mere phantom, while the real Helen remained either in Sparta or in Egypt with King Proteus.[9] Thus, according to a tradition attributed to Apollodorus, during his wanderings along the coasts of Phoenicia, Cyprus, Libya and Egypt, Menelaus discovered Helen at the court of Proteus, king of Egypt, whereas so far, he had only seen a phantom of her made of clouds.[10]

This new version of a phantom Helen at Troy and a real one in Egypt appealed to new trends of thought among the Greeks, best represented by Herodotus and Euripides. According to Herodotus, Paris carried the real Helen to Egypt where King Proteus, full of indignation at the crime committed by Paris, had him banished from Egypt, while detaining Helen in safekeeping until her true husband, Menelaus, should come to claim her.[11]

Euripides, the rationalist, contributed refinements to this new version in two of his dramas, *Helen* and *Elektra*. In *Helen*, the dramatist mentions that Hera, angry with Paris for having preferred Aphrodite to her, fashioned a phantom Helen whom he wedded, whereas the real Helen was transported by Hermes to Egypt and committed to the care of Proteus.[12] In *Elektra*, Euripides says that it was Zeus who sent a phantom Helen to Troy in order to stir up strife and provoke bloodshed among men.[13]

Thus Homer's legend of Pharos, Proteus, and Menelaus developed with time to suit new trends of thought. The small island of Pharos grew into the whole land of Egypt; Proteus, a minor sea-god, became the name of a king of Egypt; and Menelaus discovered that the Helen in Troy for whom the Greeks and Trojans fought and died was in fact a mere ghost, a chimera, while her real self was in safekeeping in Egypt, throughout the entire war.

* * *

[9] Page 1962, Stesichorus, frg. 16, cf. 'Proteus,' in *Der Kleine Pauly* 1979, 4.1196.
[10] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, VI. 29.
[11] Herod. 2.112–120.
[12] Euripides, *Helen*, 31–51, 582 ff., 669 ff.
[13] Euripides, *Elektra*, 1280 ff.

Within less than a century after the presentation of the two aforementioned plays by Euripides, Alexander became the king of Macedon in 336 BC and lost no time embarking on his dazzling career in the three continents of the ancient world, Europe, Asia and Africa. When in Egypt, he left his imperishable mark by founding the city of Alexandria in 331 BC. As with everything related to Alexander, fact and fiction are often closely interwoven. Thus the founding of Alexandria had its share of fiction and two significant legends have come down to us in this respect.

According to one tradition, preserved in the Greek version of the so-called Alexander Romance, we learn that Alexander recalled that his mother, Olympias, had told him that he was the son of Ammon. Thereupon, he visited the shrine of the God in Siwa and prayed to him with the words, 'Father, if my mother spoke the truth in calling me your son, give me an oracle.' In a dream, the god appeared to Alexander, embracing his mother and said: 'My son, Alexander, you are of my seed.' Thereupon, Alexander demanded to receive a further oracle from the god asking him where he should found a city bearing his name. Once more, in his sleep, the god appeared to him and said, 'King, to you I speak. Behold the god of the ram's horns. . . . Build an illustrious city above (i.e. south) the island of Proteus (i.e. Pharos).'[14] The text of the Romance goes on to relate that Alexander, after receiving the oracle, sacrificed to Ammon and set out to find the island of Pharos. On his way, he passed by Paraetonion (modern Mersa Matrouh) and a site called Taphosirion [Taposiris], with a temple to Osiris which has survived to the present day. Finally, the text says that he came to 'the location of our present city.' There he saw a vast expanse of land with some twelve villages scattered upon it, the largest of which was Rhakotis.[15]

This story is worthy of our attention for several reasons:

1) The Romance is the only one of the histories of Alexander which places his visit to Ammon in Siwa, prior to the founding of Alexandria. C.B. Welles, in his commentary on this observation, remarks that the tradition of the Romance is more convincing, from a purely historical point of view, and he argues that it was natural

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[14] Stoneman 1991, 1.30.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1.31.

that Alexander should have sought the divine oracle before founding his city.[16]

2) More significant, however, is the striking similarity between the role played by the god Ammon in the Alexander story and the role he played in the story of Queen Hatchepsut as recorded on the walls of her temple (Deir-el-Bahary). In both cases, the god proclaims his paternity and advises on future actions.

> a. In the temple of Deir-el-Bahary, there is one scene that represents the Queen's mother Ahmosa with the god Ammon, who says to her as he leaves her chamber, 'Hatchepsut will be the name of my daughter who will be born by you. She will set up a just and prosperous reign over all the lands.'[17] The divine origin of the Queen is once more confirmed: 'The divine Queen Hatchepsut . . . the glorious daughter of the god, who is of his seed.'[18]
>
> b. Another revelation of the god Ammon commanded Hatchepsut to send an expedition to Punt: 'The passages to Punt should be explored . . . for this expedition is in accordance to his wish . . . he guided its ways by land and sea.'[19] After the safe and victorious return of the expedition, the Queen reiterated that 'the expedition was by the command of my father, Ammon.'[20]

An almost identical legend can be traced back to an older record of the Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom concerning the coronation of King Amenemhat III, whose claim to the crown was in doubt.[21]

The remarkable similarity of the role of god Ammon in the stories of Alexander, Hatchepsut, and Amenemhat III confirms the Egyptian origin of part of the legends that grew around Alexander. It becomes obvious that the authors of the Alexander propaganda availed themselves of a religious myth from the pure Pharaonic political tradition when it suited their purpose to serve the political ends of their hero.

According to another tradition, the founding of Alexandria had its source of inspiration from Homer, who appeared to Alexander

[16] Welles 1962, 271–298.
[17] Breasted 1906–1907, II.198.
[18] *Ibid.*, II.341.
[19] *Ibid.*, II.285, 288.
[20] *Ibid.*, II.294.
[21] Davies 1992, no. 573; cf. Breasted repr. 1959, 271–272.

in a dream and recited to him the famous lines from the Odyssey where Menelaus took refuge on the island of Pharos. As a result, so Plutarch tells us:

> Alexander immediately left his bed and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying slightly south of the Canopic mouth of the Nile . . . He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place than he perceived the advantages of the site. It was a tongue of land, not unlike an isthmus, whose breadth was proportionable to its length. On one side it had a great lake and on the other the sea, which there formed a capacious harbour.

This, Plutarch continues, led him to declare that 'Homer, among his admirable qualifications, was also an excellent architect, and he ordered a city to be planned, suitable to the ground and its appendant conveniences.'[22]

The two above-mentioned legends concerning the founding of Alexandria are not without significance. The first was obviously addressed to the Egyptians, the latter to the Greeks. Alexander was naturally anxious to win the goodwill of the Egyptians, and when he first entered Memphis, he went directly to the temple of the god Ptah and had himself crowned pharaoh in true Egyptian tradition as son of the god Ammon, which fact he reconfirmed at Siwa. Again, when he founded his new city, he declared that the choice of the site fulfilled the wish of Ammon. But on the other hand, when Alexander addressed the Greeks, he emphasized his association with the great bard of Greek heroic tradition.

* * *

Finally, let us leave the world of myth and turn our mind to history. We know that Alexander was a military genius and a brilliant politician, but he was by no means a sailor. Choosing the site for a harbour was no simple matter; it required a thorough knowledge of Egypt's seacoast and this Alexander did not possess. He therefore sought the advice of Greek experts familiar with navigating across the Mediterranean to Egypt, as well as with sailing and trading. He is reported to have consulted a group of experts and architects in choosing the site for a new harbour in Egypt. Among his consultants

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[22] Plutarch, *Alexander* XXVI.8.

were Cleomenes of Naukratis, Deinokratis of Rhodes, Krateros of Olynthos and Hero of Libya. Deinokrates was the best known town planner at the time, whereas Cleomenes was an engineer and businessman of Naukratis, the Greek colony on the Canopic branch of the Nile, who had first-hand knowledge of sailing and trading conditions in Egypt prior to the arrival of Alexander.[23]

Contemporary and subsequent writers provide us with their line of thought during the deliberations. Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander and close associate of Ptolemy I in Egypt, describes the northern coast of Egypt as 'practically harbourless.'[24] Eratosthenes, the great geographer, makes the same remark and adds that even the harbour that Egypt did possess, 'the one at Pharos, gave no access.'[25] The harbour on the island of Pharos, as already mentioned in the Odyssey, was presumably well known to the Greeks since the eighth century BC, if not earlier. It served as their last port of call before entering Egypt through the Canopic mouth of the Nile. According to Herodotus, all Greek vessels, at least since the sixth century BC, had to enter Egypt through the Canopic branch, where customs dues were collected.[26]

It is obvious that Greek sailors and merchants were familiar with the whole coastal region around the island of Pharos and the village of Rhakotis on the mainland, and were aware of its potential. They also knew that the anchorages at Canopus and Pelusium, at the mouths of the Nile's two branches to the extreme west and east of the Delta, were deficient as harbours by Greek standards. They were shallow and every few years became ineffectual due to silting from the annual flooding of the Nile. In addition, like the whole of the northern coast of Africa, they were exposed to the blasts of the north-west wind during the winter months as well as to a continuous west-to-east sea current. It was therefore necessary that a site that avoided these disadvantages should be sought west of the Delta, and the suggestion to build a causeway connecting the island of Pharos with the coast near Rhakotis seemed to have been the ideal solution.

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[23] Ps. Callisthenes, I.31.6, 9.
[24] Apud Diod. I.31.2.
[25] Apud Strabo, 17.1.19.
[26] Herod. 2.178–9; Gunn 1943, 55–9.

Thus the construction of the causeway that came to be called the Heptastadium created at one and the same time two harbours: the *Portus Magnus* to the east, which was the main harbour in use in antiquity, and that of *Eunostos* to the west, which was connected by a canal to Lake Mareotis. In this way, the great harbour would be protected from the sea current, and at the same time the main body of the island of Pharos would act as a bulwark against the blasts of the northerly winds. Other advantages were self-evident: Lake Mareotis, in the south, provided direct access to the Nile, whereas a short fresh-water canal from the Canopic branch solved the problem of permanent water supply.[27] This was undoubtedly the best choice for a site of the new city and to this present day, Alexandria remains the best harbour Egypt has ever had.

[27] El-Abbadi 2000, 17–21.

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